Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700

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Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700

By

Jasper van der Steen

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Cover illustration: An Allegory of the Netherlandish War (c. 1599), by Hendrik de Clerck, Courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

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List of Abbreviations

ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels
BL	British Library
BMGN	*Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden / Low Countries Historical Review*
KB	National Library of the Netherlands
KBR	Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels
Knuttel [number]	Pamphlet in the Royal Library in The Hague, ordered according to the catalogue: W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1978)
NA	Nationaal Archief, The Netherlands
TNA	The National Archives at Kew, United Kingdom

A Note on Terminology

In this study the Seventeen Provinces, the Low Countries and the adjective 'Netherlandish' refer to the provinces before the Revolt against Philip II of Spain that split the Netherlands in two broke out in 1566. It also refers to the ideal of reunification, to which some people continued to aspire far into the seventeenth century. The Habsburg Netherlands, the Southern Netherlands, or simply 'the South' all refer to that part of the Low Countries which returned under the authority of the Habsburg overlord. I use the adjectives Southern or South Netherlandish when I refer to this part of the Low Countries. The Dutch Republic, the United Provinces, the Northern Netherlands, or 'the North' refer to the lands that successfully continued their rebellion against the Habsburg overlord. North Netherlandish and Dutch are the adjectives I use when referring to these lands. I use Holland only for the province of that name, which is one out of seven provinces that make up the United Provinces. The modern usage of Holland as a *pars pro toto* for the Netherlands in general is not adopted.

For purposes of readability I have anglicised the names of most nobles and princes. It was a contemporary practice to translate names so I do not consider my approach ahistorical. Overall, I have adopted a pragmatic approach to the spelling and translation of names.

Introduction

In 1690, Judocus de Grieck—a Catholic bookseller in Brussels—wrote an account of his life and travels. He recounted how he had visited the Northern part of the Low Countries and soon after crossing the border had found it remarkably foreign.[1] He was struck by the different interpretations of the communal past in the North compared to his native South. In particular, memories of the major rebellion against the overlord of the Netherlands, Philip II of Spain, diverged. De Grieck touched on this rebellion that had erupted more than a century before. The conflict, known in historiography as the Revolt of the Netherlands, the Dutch Revolt or the Eighty Years' War, tore apart the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries and created two polities: the Dutch Republic in the North, which corresponds roughly to the modern-day Netherlands, and the Habsburg Netherlands in the South, the predecessor of modern-day Belgium. An enthusiastic supporter of Habsburg rule, De Grieck clearly knew whom to blame for the past troubles. Compiling and summarising existing histories of the Revolt, he reached the conclusion that evil heretics had brought the country to disaster.[2] He wrote that as a result 'our pleasant and fertile "Nederlandt", which had previously flourished so wonderfully, was now so abused by the vitriol of heresies and domestic troubles that it seemed about to give up the ghost.'[3]

Not all inhabitants of the Low Countries viewed the Revolt so negatively. On the other side of the border, in the Northern Netherlands, engraver Romeyn de Hooghe looked back in 1704 on the rebellion against Philip II of Spain from a very different perspective. In his triumphant print *Allegory of the Eighty Years' War* [Allegorie rond de Tachtigjarige Oorlog], De Hooghe glorified the Revolt while blaming the conflict on the bellicosity of Spanish rulers and their soldiers (Figure 1). On the left hand, a man closely resembling the Spanish army

1 Judocus de Grieck, *Den pelgrim van dese wereldt. Verhaelende, tot een ieders onderrichtinghe ende eerlyck vermaeck, het ghedenckweerdighste dat hy in syn Levens-pilgrimagie ghesien, ghehoort, ende ghelesen heeft* (Brussels: Ian de Grieck, 1690), pp. 31–34.

2 Ibid., pp. 1–14; De Grieck cited works of well-known Catholic historians such as Franciscus Haraeus, Cornelius Hazart, Nicolaus Burgundus, Michael ab Isselt, and Willem Estius; about the authorship of *Den pelgrim*, see: Albertine Van Loven, 'Joan de Grieck. Onderzoek naar het vaderschap over zijn werken', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* 1928 (1928), pp. 556–558.

3 Ibid., p. 1: 'Ons aen-ghenaem en vruchtbaer Nederlandt, dat eertydts soo heerlyck ghepraelt hadde: was nu door het venyn der ketteryen, en in-landtsche twisten, soodanigh mishandelt, dat het scheen synen lesten snack te sullen gheven.'

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III. Deel. Fol. 144.
LYD, HOLLAND, ZUYD OF NOORD, OF SPAANSE MOORD SCHAVOTTEN. HAAR BLOED DORST MAAKT U GROOT, UW KNODS KAN'T SCHRIKDIER KNOTTEN.

FIGURE 1 *Romeyn de Hooghe, Allegory of the Eighty Years' War (1704). Rijkmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-55.156.*

commander Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba (1507–1582), is about to kill a personification of the Netherlandish privileges. In the 1560s and 1570s, Alba had attempted to suppress the Revolt and had not shunned violent measures. The scene also includes a cardinal, recognisable by his galero, who stands near a pedestal that symbolises the unpopular Counter-Reformation reforms promulgated by the Council of Trent (1545–1563). He is blowing evil advice into Alba's ear. In the middle, a herald allegorising the Low Countries stands below a gate adorned with the coats of arms of the Seventeen Provinces. On the right hand, a triumphal arch represents the United Provinces of the Seven Netherlands with its overseas territories. It is decorated with emblems of the former leader of the Revolt, Prince William of Orange, and his descendants, as protectors of the Republic.

De Grieck and De Hooghe both discussed the Revolt, but they did so in completely different ways. The first considered the Revolt as an undesirable interruption of the 'normal' course of Netherlandish history while the second framed the war as the successful foundation of a new state: the Dutch Republic. These were not exceptional views; De Grieck and De Hooghe exemplify the emergence of two radically different ways of remembering the Revolt in North and South. This study will examine this phenomenon, asking first how and why such conflicting interpretations of the Revolt arose; secondly, why they remained relevant for so long; and, finally, what role memories of the Revolt played in Northern and Southern identity formation.

The Revolt of the Netherlands broke out in 1566 in the 'Seventeen Provinces' of the Habsburg Low Countries, a highly urbanised region that bordered on France and the Holy Roman Empire.[4] The composite state complex of the Low Countries consisted of seventeen independent territories that successive dynastic rulers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had brought together in

4 The present study, including the historical overview in this introduction, builds on some excellent general studies available on the Revolt of the Netherlands: Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979); Anton van der Lem, *De opstand in de Nederlanden (1555–1609)* (Utrecht: Kosmos-Z&K Uitgevers, 1995); Alastair Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990); Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall*, 1477–1806 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Simon Groenveld et al., eds., *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog: opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (ca. 1560–1650)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2008), which is a recent re-edition of Simon Groenveld et al., *De kogel door de kerk? De opstand in de Nederlanden en de rol van de Unie van Utrecht, 1559–1609* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1979) and Simon Groenveld and H. Leeuwenberg, *De bruid in de schuit. De consolidatie van de Republiek 1609–1650* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1985); Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

a personal union.[5] Through a series of advantageous marriages as well as conquests and acquisitions the Habsburg dynasty came to rule several kingdoms and principalities on the Iberian and Italian peninsulas and in the Netherlands. Each province had its own laws, customs and privileges.

Historians agree that there were two central problems in the Low Countries before the rebellion against the Habsburg overlord broke out.[6] The first was a constitutional problem. As in other composite states in Europe, local elites harboured suspicions about the policies of administrative centralisation pursued by their overlords.[7] In the Low Countries, fifteenth-century Burgundian and sixteenth-century Habsburg princes had begun to centralise their rule in the Netherlandish provinces to increase the efficiency of government, by streamlining tax collection to finance wars, the creation of a central bureaucracy and the professionalisation of government officials. In 1549, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who wanted to prevent future generations of rulers from partitioning the Low Countries, enacted the Pragmatic Sanction which united the Seventeen Provinces into an 'inviolable union' and loosened ties with the Holy Roman Empire.[8] As a result, the Seventeen Provinces, which had in the past waged wars among each other and in some cases remained hostile, grudgingly became a kind of political unit. Another constitutional issue was the reorganisation of dioceses in 1555. This reorganisation, confirmed by the Holy See after Habsburg lobbying, altered the boundaries of the bishoprics and created a whole range of new ones. This measure enabled bishops to more effectively implement religious reform. Together with the Pragmatic Sanction, these new policies strengthened the authority of the central government in Brussels and Madrid at the expense of the privileges of clerics, nobles, provinces, and cities.[9]

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5 The number seventeen in the 'Seventeen Provinces' has been a subject of debate among historians as it does not accurately reflect the number of independent regions that made up the Low Countries, see: Robert Stein, 'Seventeen: The Multiplicity of a Unity in the Low Countries', in: D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton and Jan R. Veenstra, eds., *The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National Consciousness, 1364–1565* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 223–285.

6 In these two paragraphs I am following: Henk van Nierop, 'De troon van Alva. Over de interpretatie van de Nederlandse Opstand', *BMGN* 110:2 (1995), pp. 210–214.

7 For challenges to rulers of composite states, see: J.H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past and Present* 137 (1992), pp. 48–71.

8 Most of the Netherlandish provinces were fiefs either of the Holy Roman Emperor or the German king: Randall C.H. Lesaffer, *Inleiding tot de Europese rechtsgeschiedenis* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), p. 191.

9 M. Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II, 1559–1570* (Antwerp: Standaard-boekhandel, 1950), pp. 23–24.

The second problem facing the Low Countries was Charles V and Philip II's aggressive and uncompromising response to the spread of Protestantism. Facilitated by a high level of urbanisation and a relatively high degree of literacy among the population, the Reformation spread rapidly through the Low Countries in the 1540s, '50s and '60s.[10] Charles V considered heretics as challenges to his authority, and after earlier legislation proved ineffective, in 1550 he issued a law that became known as the 'Blood Placard': it was valid in all the Seventeen Provinces (regardless of local customs) and it required local authorities to pronounce death sentences on heretics as well as on anyone aiding or abetting them. When Philip II of Spain inherited the Low Countries, he continued Charles V's policies of persecuting religious deviants. Besides causing unrest among the general population—poverty-stricken by a series of bad harvests and cold winters in the early 1560s—the religious prosecutors were instructed to disregard local privileges and legal procedures, thereby making the religious problem also partly a challenge to local autonomy and liberties.[11]

On 5 April 1566, hundreds of lower nobles marched on the Brussels residence of Philip II's governor in the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma. Discontented both with the religious persecutions in their territories and with the Habsburg overlord's infringement on their authority, they petitioned for moderation of the religious placards. Pending Philip II's response Margaret made some concessions to the nobles to prevent further unrest; she temporarily suspended the implementation of the placards against heresy. But before Philip had reached a decision on how to deal with the unrest, the conflict escalated. What started as a fairly moderate opposition movement among the lower nobility turned into a popular rebellion during the summer of 1566 when thousands began to attend Protestant open-air sermons outside the cities. This Calvinist movement developed a dynamic quite separate from the nobility's protests, and in August a wave of iconoclasm spread through the Low Countries from the South Flemish village Steenvoorde to Groningen in the North.[12] To restore order Netherlandish magnates negotiated settlements with Calvinists, but

10 Alastair Duke, 'The Face of Popular Religious Dissent in the Low Countries, 1520–30', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 26:1 (1975), pp. 44–45; J.J. Woltjer, 'Stadt und Reformation in den Niederlanden', in: Franz Petri, ed., *Kirche und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in deutschen und niederländischen Städten der werdende Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1980), p. 157.

11 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 30–67; J.J. Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog. Over de Nederlandse Opstand 1555–1580* (Amsterdam: Balans, 1994), p. 21.

12 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 74–81.

they were to pay dearly for their compromise. Philip II responded to the unrest by sending the duke of Alba, who arrived in 1567 to punish the dissidents.[13]

In the following years Alba crushed the insurrection and prosecuted the rebels. However, the ruthless prosecutions of his tribunal, known as the 'Council of Troubles', and his unsuccessful introduction of a new permanent tax, the Tenth Penny, became the key topics of an effective anti-Spanish propaganda campaign. This campaign was led by the premier noble of the Low Countries: William of Orange, who had fled to his native Dillenburg as the duke approached. From Germany, the prince and his family also organised armed resistance against the duke of Alba. Initially, these efforts were unsuccessful, but in 1572 the prince of Orange and his brothers made new attempts to invade the Low Countries while exiled rebels captured some coastal towns in Holland and Zeeland. As a result of these combined efforts, a new rebellion broke out in several cities in the North.[14]

An influential historian of the Revolt, Geoffrey Parker, has convincingly argued that the Low Countries conflict can be understood only when studied in an international context. Philip II's failures, Parker contends, should be ascribed to the difficulty and prohibitive costs of keeping together the vast Habsburg empire. Philip could never defeat his enemies on all fronts. His fight against the Ottoman 'infidels' at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 was a window of opportunity for the rebels in the Low Countries and contributed to the success of their uprising in 1572. The second half of the 1570s saw a new wave of rebellion. Mutinies of Spanish soldiers who were underpaid due to the state bankruptcy of Philip II in 1575 and a power vacuum on the death of Louis de Requesens, governor of the Low Countries, led to a third insurrection in 1576 in which many Netherlandish provinces in North and South united against the Spanish military by signing the Pacification of Ghent. Soon, however, the rebel camp began to disintegrate over issues of religion. And once the Spanish king's financiers provided him with the necessary loans, the Habsburg army commander Alexander Farnese recaptured a number of Southern provinces in the early 1580s, bringing about what was to prove a lasting political separation

13 For a concise historiographical overview, see Maurits Ebben, 'Introduction—The Grand Duke of Alba (1507–82). Admiration, Condemnation, and Fascination: The Road to New Insights', in: Maurits Ebben, Margriet Lacy-Bruijn and Rolof van Hövell tot Westerflier, eds., *Alba: General and Servant to the Crown* (Rotterdam: Karwansaray, 2013), pp. 7–28.

14 Henk van Nierop, 'Confessional Cleansing. Why Amsterdam Did not Join the Revolt (1572–1578)', in: Wayne te Brake and Wim Klooster, eds., *Power and the City in the Netherlandic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 89–93.

between the Northern and Southern Netherlands (Map 1 and Map 2). It took more than eighty years of war after the outbreak of the Revolt in 1566 before both sides signed the Treaty of Münster in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.[15]

Well before 1648, the Revolt had come to occupy a central place in the history of the Northern and the Southern Netherlands, and it continued to do so for generations. Eighteenth-century Dutch Patriots and Belgian revolutionaries found in their sixteenth-century past an important source of inspiration.[16] The rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century stimulated national pride in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century past.[17] As late as the Second World War, political references to the Revolt enjoyed huge popularity in the kingdom of The Netherlands.[18] More so than the period of French domination around 1800, people considered it an inspirational epoch during which the country had defeated an oppressive foreign regime.[19] The diverging uses of memories of the Revolt contributed to, but also reflected, a lasting cultural divide

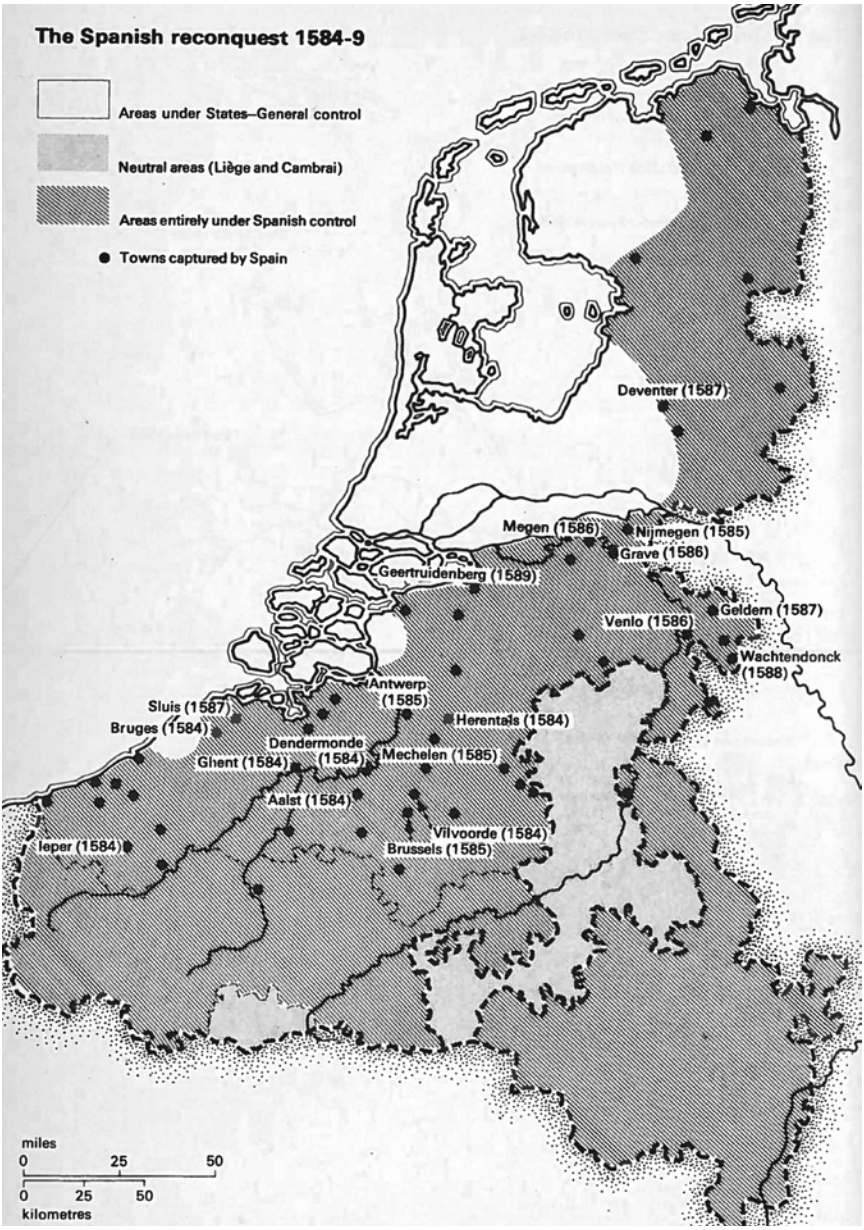
15 Geoffrey Parker, 'Spain, her Enemies, and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1559–1648', *Past and Present* 49:1 (1970), pp. 83–94; Geoffrey Parker, 'Why Did the Dutch Revolt Last Eighty Years?', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (1976), pp. 56–59; Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 63; Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 281–296.

16 I. Leonard Leeb, *The Ideological Origins of the Batavian Revolution* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), pp. 98–148.

17 See, for instance, the tercentenaries that came to be celebrated from 1866 onwards: Joep Leerssen, 'Novels and their readers, memories and their social frameworks', in: Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree and Jay Winter, eds., *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), p. 251; see also: Henk Slechte, 'Niederlande. "Durch eigene holländische Kunst angeregt, fühle ich, daß ich Holländer bin"', in: Monika Flacke, ed., *Mythen der Nationen. Ein europäisches Panorama* (Berlin: Koehler & Amelang, 1998), pp. 223–247.

18 See for instance the cartoon comparing the Eighty Years' War to the Second World War: A. Orbaan, 'Duke of Alba: "Remember, Your Majesty, we butchered them too and never conquered"', drawing, collection NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, number 182762.

19 In fact, the German occupiers soon realised that references to the Revolt against Philip II were politically charged. When Jacques Presser (who later became known as the chronicler of the murder of the Dutch Jews) wrote a history of the Eighty Years' War, he did so under a pseudonym. And, indeed, the book was promptly forbidden by the German occupier—the analogy was too clear. See J. Romein, B.W. Schaper [J. Presser] et al., eds., *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1941); Nanda van der Zee, *Jacques Presser. Het gelijk van de twijfel* (Soesterberg: Aspekt, 2002), pp. 119–120; see also: C.J. Aarts and M.C. van Etten, eds., *Nooit heb ik wat ons werd ontnomen zo bitter, bitter liefgehad: verzetspoëzie en geuzenliederen uit de jaren 1933–1945* (Amsterdam: Ooievaar Pockethouse, 1995),



MAPS 1 AND 2 *The Low Countries in 1584–1589 and in 1590–1604. Taken from Geoffrey Parker,* The Dutch Revolt *by permission of the author* (*map 1*) *and from Jonathan Israel,* The Dutch Republic *by permission of Oxford University Press* (*map 2*).

N
North Sea
Delfzijl (1591)
Emde
Groningen (1594)
FRIESLAND
Ems
Steenwijk (1592)
Coevorden (1592)
HOLLAND
Zuider Zee
Ijssel
OVERIJSSEL
Lingen (1597)
Amsterdam
Deventer (1591)
Zutphen (1591)
The Hague
UTRECHT
Rhine
Grol (1597)
Nijmegen (1591)
ZEELAND
Geertruidenberg (1593)
Grave (1602)
Breda (1590)
Sluis (1604)
Ostend (lost in 1604)
Bruges
Antwerp
Bishopric of Liège
Rhine
Cologne
FLANDERS
BRABANT
Lys
Schelde
Brussels
LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
Maas
Dutch territory
Spanish Netherlands
Regions cleared of Spanish Garrisons, 1590–1604

between the Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands that still influences relations between the Netherlands and Belgium today.[20] As this study will argue, this continuing divide is at least in part testimony to the success of memory makers in the seventeenth century who moulded the past in accordance with their contemporary needs and who, in doing so, developed new and irreconcilable self-images in the Northern and Southern provinces. I will show that such memory-making often involved conflicts, which explains my use of the term 'memory war'. Memory wars occur when political opponents use conflicting interpretations of the past to conduct their political disagreements.[21]

Historians have not really problematised the emergence of two radically different narratives about the Revolt in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. One reason might be that it has been seen as a self-explanatory phenomenon. Nineteenth-century historians, for instance, assumed that the separation of the Northern and Southern Low Countries had been the result of distinct feelings of national identity and distinct perceptions of the past. Dutch historian Robert Fruin argued in 1861 that

> no transitory misunderstanding had brought about the rift but a deeply rooted difference between the Northern and Southern Netherlands, in descent, national character, history, religion, form of government, [and] social condition.[22]

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pp. 149–150; and: Jeroen Dewulf, *Spirit of Resistance: Dutch Clandestine Literature During the Nazi Occupation* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), pp. 102–103, 111–114.

20 Take for example the sensitivities about the river Scheld and the fiercely debated inundation of the Hedwigepolder: 'Ruzie rond de Schelde maakte van Mussert een politicus', *Trouw*, 24 June 2011; 'Inleiding van mevrouw drs. Karla Peijs, Commissaris van de Koningin in Zeeland, op de Gewestdag Schelde-Mark en Schelde-Dommel van de Orde van den Prince op 28 mei 2011 in Middelburg', 28 May 2011, http://bestuur.zeeland.nl/cdk/toespraken/peijs/2011/cdk_110528b (accessed 22 August 2013).

21 See also: Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 10–11, 39–40; my usage of the term is more common in French historiography, see: Pascal Blanchard and Isabelle Veyrat-Masson, eds., *Les guerres de mémoires. La France et son histoire* (Paris: La Découverte, 2010).

22 Robert Fruin, *Tien jaren uit den Tachtigjarigen Oorlog* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1899, first published in 1861), p. 380: 'geen voorbijgaand misverstand de scheuring had teweeg gebracht maar een diep geworteld verschil tusschen de noordelijke en de zuidelijke Nederlanden, in afkomst, in volksaard, in geschiedenis, in godsdienst, in regeeringsvorm, in maatschappelijken toestand.'

This view was rejected by historians in the first half of the twentieth century, notably by Pieter Geyl, H.A. Enno van Gelder, and L. van der Essen, who showed that the division between North and South was the result rather than the cause of the rebellion.[23] Yet, the popular national clichés persist, and even in the Netherlands today the Revolt is commonly seen as a struggle between the allegedly Protestant and rebel North, on the one hand, and the supposedly Catholic and loyalist South, on the other.[24]

We have long known that in the Dutch Republic a lively memory culture about the Revolt emerged in the seventeenth century. The best studied aspect of this development is the history of early modern historiography on the rebellion.[25] J.C. Breen observed in 1922 that historians had for a long time neglected the rich repertory of historical texts about the rebellion and speculated that this neglect might have been due to 'the fact that our Dutch historiography before the nineteenth century was not quite of the first rank'.[26] Despite these deprecating remarks about the quality of seventeenth-century historical texts, Breen demonstrated convincingly that Reformed authors played an important role in popularising negative stereotypes about the Spanish enemy.[27] In 1941, Jan Romein took Breen's work a step further. To Romein we owe the insight that early modern historiography about the sixteenth-century origins of the Revolt should not be seen solely as a reconstruction of the past but foremost as a construction to be placed in its own contemporary context. That is to say: studying seventeenth-century accounts of the Revolt not only improves

23 Pieter Geyl, *De groot-Nederlandsche gedachte. Historische en politieke beschouwingen* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1925), p. 99; H.A. Enno van Gelder, 'Een historiese vergelijking. De Nederlandse Opstand en de Franse godsdienstoorlogen', *Verslag van de algemeene vergadering der leden van het Historisch Genootschap* (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1930), pp. 34–42; L. van der Essen, 'L'unité Historique des Pays-Bas', in: L. van der Essen and G.J. Hoogewerff, eds., *Le sentiment national dans les Pays-Bas* (Brussels: Éditions Universitaires, 1944), pp. 9–10.

24 Willem Frijhoff, 'Hoe Noord en Zuid van godsdienst verwisselden. Katholiek en protestant', in: Jo Tollebeek and Henk te Velde, eds., *Het geheugen van de Lage Landen* (Rekkem: Ons Erfdeel, 2009), pp. 121–129.

25 See for instance: Samuel de Wind, *Bibliotheek der Nederlandsche geschiedschrijvers; of oordeelkundig overzigt der inlandsche geschiedschrijvers der Nederlanden, van de vroegste tijden af tot den jare 1815*, 5 vols (Middelburg: Abrahams, 1831–1835).

26 J.C. Breen, 'Gereformeerde populaire historiographie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 37 (1922), p. 254: '[…] het feit, dat onze Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving vóór de negentiende eeuw niet bepaald van den eersten rang is geweest.'

27 Ibid., pp. 259–273.

our understanding of the Revolt itself but also sheds light on the seventeenth-century interaction with the past in the Low Countries.[28] Even so, it took until the 1980s before the cultural significance of these historical texts was fully appreciated.

In his thought-provoking study of Dutch culture in the seventeenth century Simon Schama pointed in 1987 to the existence of what he called 'patriotic scripture', a providential and historical tale of origin for the young Republic.[29] He argues that Dutch people considered the Revolt as a break with the past and that 'patriotic scripture' served to heal the breach.[30] Schama mentions three important elements of this Dutch tale of origin. The first is history, both recent and ancient, which includes not only the medieval history of Holland but also the recent revolt against Philip II. The second and third elements, both instances of analogical thought, are the Batavian Myth and examples from the Old Testament. The Batavians were a West Germanic tribe inhabiting parts of the Low Countries between 100 BC and 300 AD. They were known for their rebellion against the Roman Empire in 69–70 AD, as described by Tacitus in his *Histories*.[31] Schama picked up on the work of Ivo Schöffer and explained that the Dutch used this narrative as 'a retrospective formulation of criteria for national legitimacy'. In his *Treatise About the Antiquity of the Batavian Now Holland Republic* [*Tractaet vande ovdtheyt vande Batavische nv Hollandsche republique*] (1610), Hugo Grotius for instance considered the history of the Batavians as evidence that the States of Holland had always held sovereign power, which justified their rebellion against Philip II.[32] Biblical examples

28 Jan Romein, 'Spieghel Historiael van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', in: J. Presser, ed., *De Tachtigjarige oorlog* (Amsterdam/Brussels: Elsevier, 1978, first published in 1941), pp. 11–13.

29 Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Collins, 1987), pp. 51–125.

30 Ibid., p. 86.

31 Tacitus, *The Histories* I, translated by W. Hamilton Fyfe, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), book 4, pp. 111–119.

32 Ivo Schöffer, 'The Batavian Myth During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in: J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, eds., *Britain and the Netherlands, v, Some Political Mythologies* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), pp. 78–101; K.W. Swart, 'The Black Legend During the Eighty Years War', in: J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, eds., *Britain and the Netherlands v: Some Political Mythologies* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975); Judith Pollmann, 'Eine natürliche Feindschaft: Ursprung und Funktion der Schwarzen Legende über Spanien in den Niederlanden, 1560–1581', in: Franz Bosbach, ed., *Feindbilder. Die Darstellung der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Cologne, Böhlau, 1992), pp. 78–81; Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: the Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

notably included the people of Israel, who, like the Dutch, were God's chosen people and who had escaped an oppressive tyrant. Schama's contribution was to demonstrate the wide circulation and cultural relevance of these historical images. What Schama did not explain, however, is how some episodes in narratives about the Revolt became very popular while others did not. Nor have historians of the Southern Netherlands, such as Maurits Sabbe, B.A. Vermaseren and F.G. Scheelings, accounted for this phenomenon.[33] They have accepted as self-evident the Revolt's apparent usefulness as frame of reference as well as how people throughout the seventeenth century narrated the history as a fixed sequence of episodes. Historians have so far not sought to explain how and why two distinct dominant memory cultures came into being in the North and South and how they developed over time.

Perhaps the lack of explanations for why the Revolt continued to play such a central role in political discussions during the seventeenth century can be attributed to the fact that only in the 1980s and '90s did we begin to thematise the emergence of memory practices. Two fields of study in particular are responsible for this. The first of these is the study of nationalism. In post-1750 societies, some historians argue, authorities and interest groups had the political motivation and an increasing number of mass media at their disposal to circulate a national outlook on the nation's past. These media included newspapers, national educational systems with history textbooks as 'weapons of mass instruction', a phrase coined by Charles Ingrao, and later also popular broadcasting media such as radio and television.[34] In a period of increasing European integration in the 1980s and '90s, scholars argued that no sense of national identity existed in the early modern period except among government officials and other elites who linked their feelings of national identity to institutions of state. As Caspar Hischi, a scholar of nationalism, has summarised the dominant view, 'nationalism is to be seen as a uniquely modern phenomenon established by industrialisation and mass communication in the

33 Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in 't verweer. Bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdliteratuur in de eerst helft der 17e eeuw* (Antwerp: V. Resseler, 1933); B.A. Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving in de 16de en 17de eeuw over de opstand* (Leeuwarden: Gerben Dykstra, 1981); F.G. Scheelings, 'De geschiedschrijving en de beeldvorming over de Opstand in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (16e–18e eeuw)', in: J. Craeybeckx et al., eds., *1585: op gescheiden wegen. Handelingen van het colloquium over de scheiding der Nederlanden, gehouden 22–23 november 1985 te Brussel* (Leuven: Peeters, 1988).

34 Aleida Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', in: Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), p. 101.

nineteenth century'.[35] Benedict Anderson, for instance, contended in his path-breaking study *Imagined Communities* (1983) that 'nationality' and 'nationalism' were created at the end of the eighteenth century and dismisses those who detect earlier forms of popular national feeling by calling them 'nationalist ideologues'.[36] Around the same time Eric Hobsbawm suggested in *The Invention of Tradition* that only the convergence of state, nation and society in the second half of the nineteenth century can explain the increasing attention to national history.[37] Although we may cast doubt on the notion that national thinking and the idea of a national past are predominantly modern phenomena, early modernists have benefitted from an important insight that these studies have offered us, namely that national thinking is not a natural or self-evident phenomenon but is promoted for political purposes.

The political purposes for which national feelings were mobilised in the seventeenth century were very different from those of nationalism in the nineteenth century. Simon Groenveld and Alastair Duke have rightly observed that in the highly urbanised provinces of the Netherlands, sixteenth-century citizens identified themselves more with their town or region than with the elusive idea of the Seventeen Provinces.[38] In the less urbanised parts, regional or provincial identities mattered a great deal more than feelings of national identity.[39] Of course, 'identity' is a concept fraught with ambiguity, and its

35 Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 1; see also: Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 52–77.

36 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006, first published 1983), p. 4.

37 Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, first published 1983), pp. 1–8; Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914', in: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, first published 1983), pp. 263–265.

38 Simon Groenveld, 'Natie en nationaal gevoel in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden', *Nederlands Archievenblad* 84:3 (1980), pp. 372–387; Alastair Duke, 'In Defence of the Common Fatherland: Patriotism and Liberty in the Low Countries, 1555–1576', in: Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann, eds., *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 222–224; Alastair Duke, 'The Elusive Netherlands: the Question of National Identity in the Early Modern Low Countries on the Eve of the Revolt', *BMGN* 119:1 (2004), pp. 10–37; see also: L. van der Essen, 'De historische gebondenheid der Nederlanden', *Nederlandsche Historiebladen* 1:2 (1938), pp. 168–169.

39 Peter Hoppenbrouwers, 'The Dynamics of National Identity in the Later Middle Ages', in: Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann, eds., *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 39–41.

usage requires some explanation. In the present study, I use the term in a cultural sense to describe feelings of togetherness and belonging—in the case of Dutch national identity: a sense of being a Dutchman who shares a common past, a common culture and common traditions with other Dutchmen.[40] This is a broad definition of identity that allows for identities to coexist and overlap, and which recognises that the adoption of one identity does not necessarily mean the abandonment of another.[41]

Historians have shown that examples of feelings of national identity may be found in the early modern Low Countries but that only in the nineteenth century did they come to fruition in more popular forms of national awareness.[42] The sociologist Miroslav Hroch has made an influential distinction between three phases in the development of national identity in Europe: a philological or intellectual phase, a political phase and a phase of national thought as a mass phenomenon.[43] Niek van Sas used Hroch's three categories in his study of the development of modern Dutch identity. Van Sas places the intellectual phase in the period of the Dutch Republic and considers the Batavian Myth as the prime example of national thinking. The political phase occurred in the long nineteenth century while the phase of national identity as a popular phenomenon only really took off at the end of the nineteenth century.[44] I take issue with two aspects of Van Sas' usage of Hroch. Van Sas assumes, firstly, that

40 See: Willem Frijhoff, 'Identiteit en identiteitsbesef. De historicus en de spanning tussen verbeelding, benoeming en herkenning', *BMGN* 107:4 (1992), pp. 619–620; for criticism of such an 'open' interpretation of the concept, see: Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society* 29:1 (2000), pp. 1–47.

41 For a similar approach, see: Donald Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672–1713. Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), pp. 16–17.

42 C.A. Bayly acknowledges the existence of nations with a 'deeper lineage' than the 'lately come fabrications of populist demagogues and bigoted intellectuals', but he also emphasises the state-driven politics of nationalism: C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 202; in his study of the Revolt in theatre plays, Hugh Dunthorne argues that the conflict had been an important topic in early modern Dutch historiography, but he claims that the Revolt lost its preeminence after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, only to be restored as an important popular episode of national history in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Hugh Dunthorne, 'Dramatizing the Dutch Revolt. Romantic History and its Sixteenth-Century Antecedents', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Low Countries: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 11–15.

43 Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

44 Niek van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland. Van oude orde naar moderniteit, 1750–1900* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), pp. 46–47.

early modern feelings of national identity were intellectual elite pursuits and, secondly, that the public memory of the Batavian Myth played a central role in seventeenth-century Dutch self-awareness. A similar argument has been made by Olaf Mörke, who in a comparative study of Dutch and Swiss 'historical images' of the past has argued that in the Republic it was mainly the historical frame of the Batavian Revolt that came to be of political importance.[45] Van Sas and Mörke both overlook the fact that the more recent past, notably the Revolt against the Habsburg overlord, became a more popular frame of reference.

The problem of modernist claims about 'national' identity and history is that they tend to neglect or trivialise instances of national thinking that did occur in the seventeenth century. When looking at Anderson's own definition of a 'nation' that is imagined as 'limited', as 'sovereign' and as a 'community', early modernists, including those who do not fit the 'nationalist ideologue'-label, cannot help feeling pangs of recognition.[46] Instances of early modern national awareness in the Dutch Republic, for instance, could also be characterised by a 'finite, if elastic' sense of self that distinguished the nation from other nations. National self-representations also emphasised state sovereignty, self-determination, and freedom from foreign tyranny. And although modernists claim that identification with the 'nation' is exclusively modern, early modern Dutch people imagined themselves to be inhabitants not only of the community of their city, region or province but also of the state complex that was the United Provinces. In many ways, the same can be said for the Habsburg Netherlands although there the Habsburg dynasty rather than the idea of 'the state' played an important role in identity formation.

Besides scholarly discussions about nationalism, the field of cultural memory studies has also influenced the way we look at people's interaction with their past. The convergence of three quite separate developments can explain the increased interest in the study of memory (also known as the 'memory boom') in the last decades of the twentieth century.[47] The first of these is the already discussed insight of Hobsbawm and Anderson in the field of

45 Olaf Mörke, 'The Content, Form and Function of Swiss and Dutch Images of History', in: André Holenstein, Thomas Maissen and Maarten Prak, eds., *The Republican Alternative: The Netherlands and Switzerland Compared* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), pp. 173–178.

46 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 6–7.

47 In this paragraph I follow Judith Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden van de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden: s.n., 2008), p. 5. I acknowledge that cultural memory studies has a much longer lineage, including—notably—Maurice Halbwachs who coined the term *mémoire collective*: Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1925).

nationalism studies but also of Pierre Nora in his seminal *Lieux de mémoire*-project: that national identity is a construct.[48] The political project of the European Economic Community and the European Union, the Revolutions of 1989, and the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s inspired scholars to reconsider the 'nation' and 'nationalism' not as unproblematic natural phenomena but as social constructs.[49] The communal past was no longer seen as a natural basis of national identity. A different picture emerged: a communal past is forged to create and reinforce an artificial sense of national identity. Secondly, attention to the repression of war memories after the Second World War in various academic disciplines contributed to the rise of memory studies. In the 1960s, people who had been born in the 1940s and '50s accused their parents of burying in oblivion the horrors of the Second World War and of washing their hands of collaboration with the German aggressors.[50] In the case of the Netherlands, the 1960s saw an increase in Dutch discussions about people's passivity and collaboration during the war. Jan Bank has shown that this critical re-evaluation of the past particularly concerned the extermination of European Jews, which became an important topic of public debate, for instance during and after the trial of Adolf Eichmann (1961–62), after Jacques Presser's publication of the history of Dutch Jews in the Holocaust *Ondergang* (1965), and in reaction to the Six Day War (1967) between Israel, on the one hand, and Egypt, Jordan and Syria, on the other.[51] Astrid Erll has also suggested that the loss of witnesses of the Holocaust, survivors of which were beginning to die out, resulted in an awareness that 'without organic, autobiographic memories, societies are solely

48 Pierre Nora, 'Comment écrire l'histoire de France?', *Les lieux de mémoire: III Les France 1. Conflits et partages* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), pp. 11–32.

49 Take for example John H. Elliott's inaugural lecture as Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford: John H. Elliott, *National and Comparative History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 1–29.

50 Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 27; see also: Piet de Rooy, *Republiek van rivaliteiten. Nederland sinds 1813* (Amsterdam: Mets & Mets, 2005, first published 2002), pp. 244–245.

51 Jan Bank, *Oorlogsverleden in Nederland* (Baarn: Ambo, 1983), pp. 21–24. See for instance Dutch attention to the Eichmann trial: Abel Herzberg, *Eichmann in Jeruzalem* (The Hague: Bakker, 1962); Harry Mulisch, *De zaak 40/61. Een reportage* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1962); the Dutch translation of Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963): Hannah Arendt, *De banaliteit van het kwaad: een reportage* (Amsterdam: Moussault, 1969).

dependent on media [...] to transmit experience'.[52] Related to Erll's observation, finally, increasing interest in 'people without history' led scholars to consider oral history as a legitimate source of historical inquiry, which inspired them to conceptualise practices of oral memory transmission.[53]

In this study, *memory* is generally understood in a metaphorical sense and, taking Astrid Erll's definition, is used not to denote the cognitive processes of individual memory but to describe and conceptualise the dynamic interaction of communities with their past.[54] With this, admittedly, capacious definition: what does cultural memory studies offer us beyond existing scholarship on historical culture? Most importantly, the memory approach assumes that there is a reservoir of historical knowledge that people in a particular community can draw from. This reservoir is filled not only by scholarly and intellectual histories, but also by more popular ways of engagement with the past such as political pamphlets, songs and government propaganda. The theoretical framework of cultural memory studies thus allows for a much broader range of sources to examine historical practices than the relatively coherent and formal texts of 'serious' historiography that scholars of historical culture tend to focus on.[55]

The memory approach also helps us to better understand the selectivity of cultural remembrance. Just like individual memory, cultural memory is selective.[56] Aleida Assmann observes the selectivity of memory in literate societies. 'Cultures that rely on writing systems for long-term storage of information', she writes, 'develop a distinction between what I call a "canon" and an "archive".'[57] The archive comprises those things that have been neglected over time but that are still preserved in some material form.[58] It encompasses the historical information that can be found if sought whereas the 'canon' consists of the publicly accessible information that, at least to some degree, people

52 Astrid Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', in: Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), p. 9.

53 Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden*, p. 5.

54 Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies', p. 4.

55 Matthew Lundin et al., contributors, 'Memory before Modernity: Cultures and Practices in Early Modern Germany', *German History* 33:1 (2015), pp. 100–101; see also Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies', p. 7.

56 Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies', p. 5.

57 Aleida Assmann, 'Re-framing Memory. Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past', in: Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree and Jay Winter, eds., *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), p. 43.

58 Ibid.

in a given society consider common knowledge: information which communities can understand without having to consult the 'archive'. Half a word is often enough to understand references to canonical historical events precisely because they are part of the public memory. Yet, events do not automatically become canonical. Studies about 'collective memory' in post-conflict societies and about remembering as a cultural and political act have taught us that during and after twentieth-century wars and regime changes, authorities tried to justify their politics by manipulating public memories of the past. This required huge efforts on their part, such as the construction of monuments, the organisation of commemorative festivals and the development of school curricula, often without any guarantee of success.[59] Many of these eforts were unimaginable before 1800. Nevertheless, 'canons' did come into being well before.

To distinguish personal from public practices of memory. I use the term 'public memory'. Erika Kuijpers, an expert on personal memories of the Revolt, has examined the ways in which witnesses and victims of the war coped with traumatic experiences.[60] As Kuijpers demonstrates, personal and public forms of remembering interacted, overlapped and were not mutually exclusive. Taking this into consideration, the present study focuses specifically on appeals to public memory in the public sphere: i.e. historical references that

59 Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 38; Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, first published 1989), pp. 1–7; Winter, *Remembering War*; Richard Ned Lebow, 'The Memory of Politics in Postwar Europe', in: Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner and Claudio Fogu, eds., *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 6–7; see for instance the studies of memory politics after the Second World War or the fall of Communism: Andreas Langenohl, 'Memory in Post-Authoritarian Societies', in: Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 163–165; Stanislaw Tyska, 'Restitution as a Means of Remembrance. Evocation of the Recent Past in the Czech Republic and Poland after 1989', in: Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree and Jay Winter, eds., *Performing the Past: Memory, History and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), pp. 305–306.

60 Erika Kuijpers, 'O, Lord, save us from shame': Narratives of Emotions in Convent Chronicles by Female Authors during the Dutch Revolt, 1566–1635', in: Susan Broomhall, ed., *Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder: Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming 2015); Erika Kuijpers, 'Expressions of Fear, Counting the Loss: Managing Emotions in War Chronicles in the Netherlands (1568-1648)', in: Jennifer Spinks and Charles Zika, eds., *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400-1700* (London: Palgrave, forthcoming 2015).

people used as joint public memories in political communication about contemporary affairs.[61]

Historians of cultural memory, like scholars of nationalism, are prone to consider the development of Enlightened ideals such as freedom, progress and citizenship, and of modern nationalism, as requirements for societies to have a 'national' public memory.[62] In the Netherlands, for instance, scholars see the rise of interest in national history as a new development in the eighteenth century that was fuelled by a growing popular awareness of real or imagined economic and moral decline. According to Wijnand Mijnhardt and Margaret Jacob, this feeling of decline 'produced a new national consciousness that drew its inspiration from the past'.[63] Joop Koopmans shows that historical commonplaces were used in the struggles between rivalling Orangist and Patriot factions in the 1780s, and he suggests that the ideological use of national history in political conflicts was a new development.[64] Similarly, Lotte Jensen and Lieke van Deinsen argue that where the Dutch past was initially characterised by 'mnenonic multiplicity' (by which they mean that memory was not politicised), in the 1780s Dutch Patriots and Orangists developed 'dis-

61 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1989, originally published in 1962), p. 27; Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies* 45:2 (2006), pp. 270–292; for the Netherlands, see Judith Pollmann, *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 16–24; Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001).

62 For these views on national thinking, see: John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), pp. 45–63, 353–365; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 55–62, 88–109; Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', p. 101; Stefan Berger, Mark Donovan and Kevin Passmore, 'Apologias for the Nation-State in Western Europe since 1800', in: Stefan Berger et al., eds., *Writing National Histories: Western Europe since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 3–4; see for the Dutch case Niek van Sas, 'Vaderlandsliefde, nationalisme en vaderlands gevoel in Nederland, 1770–1813', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 102:3-4 (1989), pp. 471–495.

63 Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, 'Introduction', in: Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, eds., *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment, and Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 13.

64 Joop W. Koopmans, 'Spanish Tyranny and Bloody Placards: Historical Commonplace in the Struggle Between Dutch Patriots and Orangists around 1780?', in: Joop W. Koopmans and N.H. Petersen, eds., *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period III: Legitimation of Antiquity* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), pp. 35–36; see also: Van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland*, pp. 176–177.

tinct memory domains' to fight out their political disagreements.[65] Again, these scholars all suggest this was a new phenomenon and a prelude to the popularity of national history in the nineteenth century.

Tom Verschaffel and Marc Quaghebeur make a similar argument when they claim that national history in the Southern Netherlands was essentially a product of the mid-eighteenth century.[66] Apart from the modernity argument, the neglect of South Netherlandish interaction with the national past in previous centuries probably has three reasons specific to the political context of the Habsburg Netherlands. Firstly, formerly rebellious cities that reconciled with their dynastic overlord had little to gain from recalling their rebellion. Secondly, Verschaffel, René Vermeir and Luc Duerloo have shown that historians of the Habsburg Netherlands have traditionally considered the period 1600–1790 as a period of foreign oppression during which the South was merely the plaything of European powers.[67] According to this traditional view, no national feeling worth studying could have developed in this part of the Low Countries. In this study, I will suggest the opposite. Finally, for a long time cultural historians did not take seriously the link between national public memory and religion in the Southern Netherlands, which means that many Southern memory practices have escaped their notice. Historians of modern nationalism tend to consider the idealisation of the nation as an alternative to religion. This study argues that the one need not exclude the other, that there can be mutual interaction between religious and 'secular' (or political) memory practices, and that the two overlapped.

Whereas memory scholars have tended to see popular interest in the national past as a modern phenomenon, this study will show that such interest was ubiquitous in the seventeenth-century Low Countries. Indeed,

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65 Lotte Jensen and Lieke van Deinsen, 'Het theater van de herinnering. Vaderlandshistorisch toneel in de achttiende eeuw', *Spiegel der Letteren* 54:2 (2012), pp. 218–219.

66 Tom Verschaffel, *De hoed en de hond. Geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1715–1794* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998), pp. 61–98; see also: Marc Quaghebeur, 'The Sixteenth Century: A Decisive Myth', in: Catherine Labio, ed., *Belgian Memories*, Yale French Studies (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 117; Johannes Koll emphasises the importance of nineteenth-century nationalism for the development of a national 'Belgian' past: Johannes Koll, 'Belgien: Geschichtskultur und nationale Identität', in: Monika Flacke, ed., *Mythen der Nationen. Ein europäisches Panorama* (Berlin: Koehler & Amelang, 1998), pp. 53–77.

67 Verschaffel, *De hoed*, p. 369; René Vermeir, 'How Spanish Were the Spanish Netherlands?', *Dutch Crossing* 36:1 (2012), pp. 3–5; Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 6–12.

describing a collective experience in the past in terms of 'memory' is certainly not a modern invention. The ancient idea that people, as a community, were beginning to forget the past was a commonplace that seventeenth-century historians often used to motivate their writing of history.[68] In recounting the past, contemporaries in early modern and modern societies alike often spoke in terms of 'memory', 'remembering', 'commemorating', or 'recalling' but also of 'forgetting', and 'oblivion'.[69] Nor is this study the first to examine practices of memory in early modern Europe. Historians of Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe have shown the major impact that religious transformations and civil conflicts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have had on the practical uses of the past. Both on the Protestant and Catholic sides, propagandists increasingly invoked the past to lend legitimacy to their confessional arguments.[70] The Revolt of the Netherlands was no exception to this development.[71]

What does make the Low Countries special is the widespread emergence of 'national' and non-confessional readings of the past. It is true that multiple scholars have noted similar developments elsewhere, notably for late medieval and early modern France and England but also in other parts of Europe.[72]

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68 Take for example Jacob Duym, *Een Ghedenck-boeck, Het welck ons Leert aen al het quaet en den grooten moetwil van de Spaingnaerden en haren aenhanck ons aen-ghedaen te ghedencken* (Leiden: Henrick Lodewijcxszoon van Haestens, 1606), f. *2r; for the example set by ancient authors such as Cicero see also Peter Burke, 'History as Social Memory', in: Thomas Butler, ed., *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 97.

69 See James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. x; Charles H. Parker, 'To the Attentive, Nonpartisan Reader: The Appeal to History and National Identity in the Religious Disputes of the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28:1 (1997), pp. 57–78.

70 Bruce Gordon, ed., *Protestant Identity and History in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 1996); David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989); Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378–1615)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 117.

71 For the Dutch Republic: Breen, 'Gereformeerde populaire historiographie', pp. 254–273, 372–382; for the Southern Netherlands, see: Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*; Scheelings, 'De geschiedschrijving'.

72 A seminal work on French national consciousness in the sixteenth century is: Myriam Yardeni, *La conscience nationale en France pendant les guerres de religion (1559–1598)* (Leuven: Nauwelaerts, 1971); Other notable works include: Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), pp. 15–74; Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale*

Yet they have tended to rest on the assumption that the forging and political exploitation of public memories were top-down phenomena. David Cressy has shown, for instance, that the state in Tudor and Stuart England performed a central role in the management of memory by establishing its own Protestant calendar, cutting down on the number of holy days and introducing new secular commemorations. Where before the Reformation, English history had no part in the liturgical calendar, this situation changed under the reign of Elizabeth I. Cressy demonstrates that government authorities developed 'a mythic and patriotic sense of national identity', focusing less than before on traditional Catholic frames of reference such as religious doctrine and more than ever on the recent past.[73] The intention was to create a 'rhythm of the year' that supported the political aspirations of the government.

Building on studies about early modern memory formation, I argue that the modernist suggestion that popular awareness of a national past can only be explained by nationalism and the advent of modernity neglects the political, rhetorical and cultural importance that earlier generations attached to ideas of a collective history which inspired and brought together people across local and regional boundaries.[74] In short, although modern memory scholars claim that a national public memory can exist only in conjunction with modern nationalism, this claim is not historical.[75] Moreover, by focusing exclusively on the early modern period, instead of using it merely as a 'decor' against

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et sentiment religieux en France au XVI^e siècle (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001), pp. 27–53; for an overview of scholarship on early modern French identities, see: David Bell, 'Recent Works on Early Modern French National Identity', *The Journal of Modern History* 68:1 (1996), pp. 84–113; for England as an exceptional example of an early emergence of national memory: Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, pp. 129–130; see also: Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 10; Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zászkaliczky, eds., *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

73 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. ix: see also: David Cressy, 'National Memory in Early Modern England', in: John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 61–73.

74 For a more elaborate discussion of the importance that scholars attach to 'modernity' in the field of cultural memory studies, see: Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'On the Early Modernity of Modern Memory', in: Erika Kuijpers et al., eds., *Memory Before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 3–7.

75 A similar point regarding the modernity of nationalism is made by Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism*, pp. 7–9; see also: Erika Kuijpers, et al., eds, *Memory Before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

developments of the modern age, the present study can more accurately analyse the use of public memory in the early modern Low Countries.[76]

This book offers a comparative study of memory politics in the early modern Low Countries. Modern scholarship demonstrates that a comparative perspective can yield valuable new insights into the way societies remember. Studies of memory politics after twentieth-century partitions, including East and West Germany and the two Koreas have shown that authorities massaged and manipulated the communal past to their own political advantage and in response to what was happening on the other side of the border.[77] A comparative approach is all the more useful because of the difficulty historians have in breaking free from existing canonical narratives about the past.[78] Thomas Welskopp has noted that 'the comparative lens is perfectly suited to elaborating and explaining both the peculiarities of national "master-narratives" and the basic patterns, at times uncannily similar, that they have in common.'[79] Considering the evident advantages of a comparative approach, it is striking that so few historians have ever engaged in a constructive comparison of the memory cultures in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. A notable exception is Raingard Esser's comprehensive comparative study of chorographies in the Dutch Republic and Habsburg Netherlands.[80] Esser compares chorogra-

76 Jeroen Duindam makes this point in his call for more comparative research: Jeroen Duindam, *Vergelijking als maatstaf: heerschappij in de vroegmoderne wereld* (Leiden: s.n., 2011), p. 3.

77 Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 1–12; Mary Fulbrook, *German National Identity after the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 142–178; Konrad H. Jarausch and Michael Geyer, *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 4–15; Jeffrey Herf, 'Politics and Memory in West and East Germany since 1961 and in Unified Germany since 1990', *Journal of Israel History* 23:1 (2004), pp. 40–64; Seunghei Clara Hong, 'Re-Collecting Fragments: Towards a Politics of Memory in Partition Literature', unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 2009), http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/handle/2027.42/63639 (accessed 12 February 2013).

78 Marc Bloch, 'A Contribution Towards a Comparative History of European Societies', in: Marc Bloch, *Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967, article first published 1925), pp. 70–71.

79 Thomas Welskopp, 'Comparative History', *European History Online* (2010), http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/comparative-history (accessed 16 January 2013), p. 11.

80 Raingard Esser, *The Politics of Memory. The Writing of Partition in the Seventeenth-Century Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); another notable exception is Gerrit Verhoeven, *Anders Reizen? Evoluties in vroegmoderne reiservaringen van Hollandse en Brabantse elites (1600–1750)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009).

phies in North and South and explains how these texts served to support new Netherlandish identities. My study connects to the work of Esser but its source material is broader, focusing not only on historiography but also on the use of the past in political texts.

The first theme that my comparison will address is the emergence of two different memory cultures in North and South. In a national context historians of the Dutch Republic have shown that the Revolt was celebrated in the seventeenth century as a successful struggle for freedom and as a 'foundation narrative' for the new state. By comparing Northern ways of dealing with the Revolt to images of the past in the Habsburg Netherlands, we can test just how self-evident the memory culture in the Republic was as well as find out if, despite the inexpediency of keeping alive memories of the Revolt in the reconquered South, similar memory practices developed there. One of the central contentions of this study, in line with Aleida Assmann's distinction between the canon and the archive, is that processes of memory formation did not happen organically but were the result of conscious efforts of individuals, interest groups and authorities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to have their interpretation of the past recognised as authoritative.[81]

This brings me to the second theme of the comparison, namely the influence of dynasty, state, and church on public memory practices. In the Southern Netherlands Habsburg authority was restored while in the Dutch Republic there was no sovereign prince. In the South the Counter-Reformation achieved great success while the Reformed church in the North, despite being the privileged church, had to coexist with other confessions and did not enjoy the status of state church. How did religious unity in the South and religious plurality in the North influence practices of memory, and what role did the state and the dynasty play in memory formation? The comparison offers an excellent opportunity to analyse the mutual influence of memory and identity formation in two different religious and political systems, one of which had Catholicism and the other Calvinism as the dominant religion. Thirdly, the comparison between North and South in this study will demonstrate that both parts of the Low Countries interacted with and influenced one another's memory practices. This comparison has yielded not only similarities but also striking dissimilarities. I selected a few themes to elaborate on in the following chapters, and within those themes I had to deal with some qualitative and quantitative incommensurables. Reflecting on such differences, however, can be quite useful. For example, the memory culture of the Revolt was less lively in the Southern Netherlands than in the Dutch Republic. Rather than discarding

81 Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden*, pp. 9–14.

some ways of interaction with the past in the South as attempts to 'forget' the Revolt, I will argue that policies of oblivion in the Habsburg Netherlands were not only intended to forget or ignore in the literal sense but that they were also meant to neutralise the harmful effects of remembering the past in a rebel-turned-loyal society.

Canonical narratives about the Revolt changed over time and came to play a key role in public debates about war and peace, public policy and religion. Due to the authority of the past in pre-modern societies, in changing political contexts it was subject to constant reinvention.[82] As the medievalist Gabrielle Spiegel has noted, historical narratives are 'able to address the historical issues so crucially at stake and to lend to ideology the authority and prestige of the past, all the while dissimulating its status as ideology under the guise of a mere recounting of "what was."'[83] As people started challenging Charles V and his successor Philip II's centralist policies, contemporaries began to look into the history of local privileges.[84] And during the rebellion, supporters of resistance against Philip II found a source of inspiration in the already circulating European memories of the Spanish cruelty to the American Indians.[85] Political changes not only influenced memories of the Revolt, but influence also operated in the reverse direction. Dominant narratives about the conflict had an effect on how political disagreements could be voiced.[86] Looking at this interplay of memory and politics over the long term until 1700, we will see that canonical narratives about the Revolt in North and South initially served to antagonise the foreign enemy but quickly became a frequently used political weapon to disarm domestic political opponents. An exploration of how this happened, and why, sheds light on the way some historical discourses about the Revolt remained politically potent for centuries to come.

So, how do we investigate early modern memory practices? It is tempting to build primarily on the work of respectable early modern historians which, after all, are useful to study contemporary people's understanding of their past. Given the source problems, this is exactly what most historians have done.

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82 Pollmann and Kuijpers, 'On the Early Modernity of Modern Memory', pp. 7–10.

83 Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Medieval Canon Formation and the Rise of Royal Historiography in Old French Prose', *Modern Language Notes* 108:4 (1993), p. 653.

84 J.J. Woltjer, 'Dutch Privileges, Real and Imaginary', in: J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, eds., *Britain and the Netherlands. Volume v: Some Political Mythologies* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), pp. 19–35.

85 See for instance the Dutch interest in Spanish cruelties in the Americas: Swart, 'The Black Legend'; Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, p. 73.

86 Ibid., pp. 53–54.

However, such an intellectual and elite approach neglects more popular ways of dealing with the past, including the use of historical arguments in political propaganda or religious disputes. I contend that these kinds of interaction with the past, in conjunction with learned historiography, have been very influential in establishing a dominant memory culture. Apart from historiography, the source material of this study therefore includes political pamphlets, government treatises, religious tracts, propagandistic prints, diaries, folklore stories and to a lesser degree also literary sources such as songs and poems. The broad range of references to the Revolt examined in this study will reveal that ideas about a national past also existed outside of government elites.

Using concepts from memory studies and on the basis of a corpus of wide-ranging source material, I will thus compare political memory practices in the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands in the seventeenth century. This ambitious geographic coverage and time-span, however, also means that I have had to make choices that need some explanation. My broad approach to the topic of public memories of the Revolt in the early modern Low Countries has its limitations. An important limitation of this study is its representativeness. It is impossible for me to assess accurately how representative the sources I use were in their contemporary context, nor have I entertained aspirations of completeness. I am aware of these considerations but have nonetheless decided that the added value of gaining a wide-ranging understanding of public memory formation over the long term from a comparative perspective outweighs the problem of not being able to tell with certainty whether a particular memory practice in Utrecht, to name a random example, can also be found in Groningen or other parts of the Low Countries.

Another limitation is that I have excluded some important aspects of memory formation after the outbreak of the Revolt of the Netherlands. Firstly, by studying both the emergence and political usage of two different public memories on a national level, I have paid less attention to local practices of memory. This is not to trivialise them. Recently scholars have studied the public use of memories of the Revolt on a local level. Marianne Eekhout has examined multimedial and local manifestations of (public) memory.[87] Furthermore, Esser's recent monograph on early modern chorographies in the Low Countries explores local histories and town descriptions.[88] These historians have shown that local memory practices remained very important throughout the early modern period and that internal differences—and sometimes deep divisions—within

87 Marianne Eekhout, 'Material Memories of the Dutch Revolt: The Urban Memory Landscape in the Low Countries, 1566–1700', unpublished PhD dissertation.

88 Esser, *The Politics of Memory*.

both North and South obstructed national unity.[89] A second aspect that I disregarded is the Spanish side of the story. This may seem strange because for most of the studied period the overlord of the Habsburg Netherlands was also the Spanish king, and therefore, as other historians have shown, Spanish politics were of crucial importance for Habsburg governance in the Southern Netherlands.[90] I have nonetheless made this choice because I want to contribute to discussions about identity formation in the Low Countries. With this objective in mind, Spanish perspectives on the Netherlands mattered less to me than Dutch and South Netherlandish perspectives on Spain. Thirdly, for the important role exiles played in memory formation in the Low Countries I refer readers to Johannes Müller's recent study about exile memories and the Dutch Revolt.[91] Finally, some may object to the lack of literary sources in this book, notably theatre plays about the Revolt which, as H. Duits has shown, can tell us much about the popularisation and wide circulation of war memories in the seventeenth century.[92] This omission is a practical restriction of a corpus of source material that is already extensive; memories of the Revolt in literature and theatre would be an excellent topic for another research project in the future.[93]

This book is divided into seven chapters. In chapter 1, I will show that the Habsburg government authorities accused the rebels of introducing evil novelties and argued that history was on their side. Rebels, on the other hand, created a communication problem for themselves when they rebelled against their legitimate overlord. They could not convincingly use the past in their justificatory writings because they obviously proposed a radical break from the past. What we see, then, is that rebel propagandists in the 1570s, '80s and '90s turned to other ways of arguing their case.

Chapter 2 will examine the principles of selection that ultimately led to the emergence of two popular dominant narratives in the Northern and Southern

89 See also Hotso Spanninga's recent study about Friesland's unwillingness to meet its financial obligations in the Union: Hotso Spanninga, *Gulden vrijheid? Politieke cultuur en staatsvorming in Friesland, 1600–1640* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012).

90 Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog in Spaanse ogen: de Nederlanden in Spaanse historische en literaire teksten* (*circa 1548–1673*) (Nijmegen: Van Tilt, 2003), p. 17.

91 Müller, 'Exile Memories'.

92 H. Duits, *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse Opstand. Studies over de relatie tussen politiek en toneel in het midden van de zeventiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990), pp. 94–153.

93 In fact, Lotte Jensen is currently working on a project *Proud to be Dutch. The role of war and propaganda literature in the shaping of an early modern Dutch identity, 1648–1815* at the Radboud University Nijmegen about the significance of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century war and peace literature in national identity formation.

provinces of the Low Countries. Judith Pollmann has suggested that interest groups played an important role in developing a national canonical version of the history of the Revolt. In the run-up to the Twelve Years' Truce, opponents of peace, South Netherlandish exiles, Maurice of Nassau, and other groups who opposed the Truce, supported their political viewpoints and opposition to the policies of the States General with appeals to the memory of the Revolt.[94] Although we will see that this is an acceptable hypothesis for the rise of a national historical canon in the Northern Netherlands, it does not explain how the Revolt came to be seen in the South. There much of what had happened during the Revolt seems to have fallen into oblivion. We will see if this is really what happened.

Chapters 3 and 4 will examine the appropriation of the past and the use of contested memories for political purposes. They will show, for example, how in the North the house of Orange came to derive much of its prestige from Prince William of Orange's role as leader of the Revolt. While in the North memories of the Revolt were often used to support the Orange dynasty's political aspirations, conversely, anti-Orangist factions during the First Stadholderless Period (1650–1672) challenged the house of Orange by playing down its war record. In the South the Habsburg dynasty preferred to forget what had happened during the Revolt, but their supporters could not resist using the past to their advantage. Despite their pursuit of oblivion, central authorities in the South could not always prevent memories of the Revolt from being used for internal political purposes—for example during the conspiracy of nobles against the Habsburg regime in 1632 or the combined Franco-Dutch invasion in 1635. Urban government authorities also instigated public commemoration of the Revolt, such as during the Joyous Entries of new Habsburg sovereigns, thereby creating an interplay between top-down dynastic memory-making and bottom-up local memory practices.

Historians of the Revolt have rightly pointed out that the conflict changed character after the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1621. It became increasingly a conflict between two states rather than a civil war. Nevertheless, references to the sixteenth-century origins of the war continued to be politically potent in the period 1621–1648. Chapter 5 will explain why in a new political context these references remained so relevant.

As we will see in chapters 6 and 7, even after the Republic and the Habsburgs had buried the hatchet in 1648, the war was still a popular rhetorical battleground

94 Judith Pollmann, 'No Man's Land: Reinventing Netherlandish Identities, 1585–1621', in: Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann, eds., *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 251–258.

on which opposing political factions settled their disputes. Once the generations who had witnessed the troubles began to die out, however, public memories of the war changed. Organic forms of memory transmission within families and communities were increasingly complemented by cultural and less personal ways of engaging with the past, and this interaction meant a further homogenisation of the narratives about the Revolt. The long-term perspective allows me to see what role the Revolt came to play in Dutch and South Netherlandish culture. A better insight into the role that political and religious factions played in this process will help explain what was necessary for memories of the Revolt to remain relevant even when the war had come to an end and those who had experienced the conflict no longer lived to tell the tale.

CHAPTER 1

Memory in the Making: The First Decades

From the very beginning of the Revolt of the Netherlands the management of memory was a central concern for government authorities and interest groups. On 29 March 1568, the duke of Alba, governor of the Low Countries, gave orders to demolish the Culemborg palace on the Sablon in Brussels where in 1566 the meetings of the Compromise of Nobles had been held.[1] He wanted to obliterate this physical reminder of the place where the first rebels had hatched their plans.[2] The French Calvinist minister Franciscus Junius, who had helped prepare the meetings of the Compromise and who had opened the first meeting with a prayer, wrote in his *Vita*, which was published in 1595, that 'the entire palace was levelled to the ground and the place was sprinkled with salt and awful curses in accordance with the duke of Alba's command'.[3] The demolition took place on 28 May 1568 and left a deep impression on contemporary authors. Around the time of the demolition Antoine II de Lalaing, count of

1 'Suite du rapport rédigé par un secrétaire du Conseil des Troubles, de l'activité de ce dernier organisme pendant la période du 13 janvier 1568 au 6 avril 1568', in: *Le Conseil des Troubles. Liste des condamnés* (*1567–1573*), edited by A.L.E. Verheyden (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1961), p. 528.

2 The Culemborg site of memory has been studied extensively in: H. Schuermans, 'La colonne de Culembourg à Bruxelles', *Bulletin des commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie* (1870). For other examples of demolition as a form of public humiliation in the Low Countries, see: P. de Win, *De schandstraffen in het wereldlijk strafrecht in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden van de middeleeuwen tot de Franse Tijd in Europees perspectief* (Brussels: Paleis der academiën, 1991), pp. 220–221; this practice had a long tradition from antiquity, see: Matthew B. Roller, 'Demolished Houses, Monumentality, and Memory in Roman Culture', *Classical Antiquity* 29:1 (2010), pp. 117–180; conversely, keeping houses intact while destroying the surrounding buildings was a memory practice of Alexander the Great during his destruction of Thebes in 335 BC; see: Arrian, *The Anabasis of Alexander*, edited by E.J. Chinock (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884), pp. 33–34: 'It is said that Alexander preserved the house and the descendants of Pindar the poet, out of respect for his memory.' Other instances of demolition in the Low Countries include the house of a Lutheran preacher in Tournai, which was demolished in 1561 because Lutheran services had been held there: Jean Cousin, *Histoire de Tournay ou le quatrieme livre des chroniques annales, ou demonstrations du Christianisme de l'evesche de Tournay* (Douai: Marc Wyon, 1620), p. 305.

3 Franciscus Junius, *Vita nobilis & eruditi viri Francisci Ivnii*, edited by Paullus Merula (Leiden: ex off. Plantiniana apud F. Raphelengium, 1595), p. 72: 'tota domus aequata solo, & area eius sale cum diris exsecrationibus conspersa ad Ducis Albani imperium'.

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Hoogstraten—a supporter of Prince William of Orange—wrote a report to inform the prince and the other nobles who had fled the persecutions of the duke of Alba.[4] He added that 'the house of the count of Culemborg is condemned to be demolished for its having been the palace of the Beggars, and a column will be erected in the middle of the spot with a notorious *dictum* beneath.'[5] The dictum, which in keeping with Alba's orders explained 'the cause of said ruin', stated in four languages—Latin, French, Dutch and Spanish—that the column had been placed there 'in memory of the execrable conspiracy made here against the religion of the Catholic and Roman church, against the king and against his lands.'[6]

What the regime did here was a clear, if also quite paradoxical, act of memory. While demolishing the palace removed a physical reminder of the first cause of the rebellion, the subsequent placement of a column (Figure 2) drew attention to the 'execrable' past. Although intended as an eternal *damnatio memoriae*, the column did not serve its purpose for long.[7] Article 13 of the Pacification of Ghent (1576) ordered that all 'the pillars, trophies, inscriptions and effigies erected by the duke of Alba to the shame and disgrace of the afore-said and all others, shall be destroyed and demolished'.[8] The Brussels column was probably demolished soon afterwards. Decades after the event the Reformed clergyman Johannes Gysius wrote in his popular history of the Revolt in 1616 that 'just like all human designs are uncertain and impermanent, so after some years [after its erection] it was knocked to pieces by the citizens,

4 Louis Hymans, *Bruxelles à travers les âges* I (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe, 1882), p. 316.

5 Antoine II de Lalaing, count of Hoogstraten, 'Nouvelles des Pays-Bas', 5 June 1568, in: *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange-Nassau* (*première série*). *Tome III 1567–1572*, edited by G. Groen van Prinsterer (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1836), p. 242: 'La maison du Conte de Culenbourgh est condampnée d'estre rasée pour avoir esté le palais des geux, et y plantra-t-on ung peron au mytan avecq ung fameux *dictum* dessus.'

6 'Suite du rapport', p. 528: 'en signe et mémoire y seroit érigé une colomne ou pillier avecq ung tableau contenant la cause de ladicte ruyne'; Schuermans, 'La colonne de Culembourg', p. 20: 'en memoire de l'Execrable conspiration faicte en icelle contre la Religion de l'Eglise Catholique et Romaine, contre le Roy et contre ces Païs'; Franciscus Sweertius, *Monvmenta Sepvlchralia et Inscriptiones Pvblicae Privataeq. Dvcatvs Brabantiae* (Antwerp: Gaspar Bellerus, 1613), p. 308.

7 This term was coined in the Roman Empire, where the senate could issue a 'damnatio memoriae', or a 'memoria damnata', to damn the public memory of persons who were charged with crimes against the state. See: Friedrich Vittinghoff, *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit: Untersuchungen zur "damnatio memoriae"* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1936), pp. 64–74.

8 E.H. Kossmann and A.F. Mellink, eds., *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 130.

FIGURE 2 *Column of Culemborg, ARA, Kaarten en plannen in handschrift, nr 2.810.*

yes in such a manner that each sought a piece thereof to show that they had helped to destroy such a work.'[9]

9 Johannes Gysius, *Oorsprong en voortgang der Neder-landtscher beroerten ende ellendicheden* (Leiden: Henrick Lodewijcxsoon Haestens, 1616), p. 272: 'ghelijck aller menschen voornemen onbestendich ende ongeduyrich is, soo is na eenighe jaren de selve vanden Borgheren weder

The removal of the column did not mark the end of the site's significance in the public memory. After a period of Calvinist government in Brussels (1577–1585), the site remained unredeveloped for decades despite Count Floris I of Culemborg's attempts at reclaiming his patrimony. Under the government of the Habsburg Archdukes Albert and Isabella, who commenced their reign in 1598, the grounds were given a new purpose. Rather than cursing the place's polluted past or giving way to the demands of the Culemborg family, the archducal couple re-appropriated the site and invited the Discalced Carmelite Friars to settle on the location where the duke of Alba had once erected his column.[10] The new Discalced Carmelites, founded in 1593, were a mendicant order from Spain. They attempted to bring back the observance of the primitive Rule of Carmel with the intention of fostering religious zeal to contribute more effectively to the Counter-Reformation struggle against heresy.[11] On 8 September 1611, the archdukes laid the first stone of their new church and convent.[12] Significantly, they required that the exact place where the nobles had assembled be left vacant.[13] Albert and Isabella apparently wanted to keep alive the memory of how things had gone very wrong in the sixteenth century but also to show by antithesis what the outcome had been: a successful religious restoration.[14] A place initially known for heresy and insurgence thus became a symbol for the successful Habsburg Counter-Reformation.[15] Indeed,

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ontstucken geslaghen, jae in sulcker manieren, dat elck socht een stuck daer van te hebben, omme te moghen betoonen datse sulcken werck hadden helpen vernielen.'

10 Théodore Juste, *Les Pays-Bas sous Philippe II. Histoire de la Revolution du XVI^e siècle. Tome second (1565–1572)* (Brussels: Méline, Cans et Compagnie, 1855), p. 504.

11 Helena Bussers, 'La famille de Bournonville et l'église des carmes déchaussés à Bruxelles', *Bulletin: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 43–44 (1994–1995), p. 121; Sabine van Sprang, 'Rubens en Brussel, een meer dan hoffelijke relatie', in: Joost Vander Auwera et al., eds., *Rubens: een genie aan het werk* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2007), p. 15.

12 Cornelis van Gestel, *Historia sacra et profana archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis; Sive descriptio archi-diocesis illius; Item urbium, oppidorum, pagorum, dominiorum, monasteriorum, castellorumque sub eâ, in XI. decanatus divisa. Cum Toparcharum Inscriptionibus Sepulchralibus* [...] *Tomus Secundus* (The Hague: Christiaan van Lom, 1725), p. 38; Antonius Sanderus, *Le grand theatre sacré du duché de Brabant* [...] *Tome Premier. Seconde Partie* VI (The Hague: Chrétien van Lom, 1629), p. 273; Eusebius, *Enchyridion chronologicum Carmelitarum Discalceatorum Congregationis Italiae, sub titulo S.P. Eliae Prophetae digestum A.P. Eusebio ab omnibus sanctis Definitore Provinciali Provinciae Romanae, ac ejusdem Congregationis Historico generali...* (Rome: Rochi Bernabò, 1737), pp. 43–44.

13 Schuermans, 'La colonne de Culembourg', p. 101.

14 Frédéric Gautier, *Le Nouveau Conducteur dans Bruxelles et ses Environs* (Brussels: C.J. de Mat and H. Remy, 1827), p. 54; Schuermans, 'La colonne de Culembourg', p. 101.

15 Roel Jacobs, *Een kleine geschiedenis van Brussel* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2006), p. 150.

the exact location of the nobility's gathering in 1566 remained recognisable as such for a long period of time. When the Catholic Northerner Gerard van Loon toured the Southern Netherlands more than a century later in 1720, he visited the convent. He wrote that 'in the courtyard of this convent has been shown to me by the priest a square place dug out with care, where the room is supposed to have been in which the confederated nobles formerly held their assemblies.'[16] The fact that the priest knew this and shared the information with visiting strangers suggests that in the eighteenth century the Discalced Friars in Brussels still cherished the symbolism of their convent's location.

The Culemborg case is a first indication that both authorities and individuals in the early modern Low Countries were keen managers of memory: the duke of Alba, the burghers of Brussels, the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, the order of the Discalced Carmelites and—as we will see in chapter 5—the Culemborg family, all kept alive their interpretation of this particular episode. Memories of the past hence survived for a long period, but at different times could serve different functions. Alba wanted to show his muscle by damning the memory of the rebels. The drafters of the Pacification of Ghent wanted to forget the episode altogether in order to restore peace and stability. Local inhabitants held on to pieces of the stone column as souvenirs. The archdukes, together with the Discalced Friars, framed the place's history as a triumph of both the true faith and the house of Habsburg over heretics and rebels.

An important reason why sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans were so concerned with the 'right' reading of the past was that they founded political claims and legal arguments in the present on old customs and privileges. A civil war such as the Revolt of the Netherlands, however, complicated this practice. Where rebels were successful in their resistance against the Habsburg overlord, at the same time they created a memory vacuum. By severing past and present, it became increasingly difficult to vindicate contemporary political arguments with references to the past, which made rebels vulnerable to accusations of novelty.[17] In three parts, this chapter explores

16 Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen: of beknopt verhaal van 't gene sedert de overdracht der heerschappye van keyzer Karel den Vyfden op koning Philips zynen zoon, tot het sluyten van den Uytrechtschen vreede, in de zeventien Nederlandsche gewesten is voorgevallen* (The Hague: Christiaan van Lom, Isaac Vaillant, Pieter Gosse, Rutgert Alberts, and Pieter de Hondt, 1723–1731), vol. 1, p. 115: 'in den hof van dit klooster is my in den jaare zeventienhonderdentwintig in Brabant zynde, door deszelfs Geestlyken eene diepe vierkante en met voordacht uytgegraave plaats aangeweezen, daar de kamer zoude gestaan hebben, in welke eertyds de verbondene Edellieden hunne byeenkomsten gehouden hebben.'

17 See also: Esser, *The Politics of Memory*, p. 10.

how this was a problem for people in the first stages of the conflict and how they dealt with it by actively cultivating a memory of recent events. Firstly, I will examine the usage of memory in political circles. Then, the focus will be broadened to include the propagandistic use of the past by rebels and loyalists. Finally, this chapter will discuss the influence of the first important histories of the Revolt on public memories about the conflict.

Political Memory on the Eve of the Revolt

Netherlanders in the sixteenth century could draw on an established repertoire of arguments to make a political stand. Supporters of the hereditary authority of any ruling dynasty frequently used references to the dynasty's line of succession in support of its legitimacy. Opponents stressed the absence of such legitimacy by raising doubt about rightful succession in the past. Furthermore, in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe religion served as an important frame of reference and source of authority. Then, there was history which, as Cicero had explained in *De Oratore*, served as 'a storehouse of examples and precedents', an idea taken up by many Renaissance scholars and politicians.[18] The aggregate of local customs and privileges acquired in the past could also support claims in the present.

A good example of the political usage of legal precedents is the States of Brabant's opposition to an important reorganisation of the Netherlandish dioceses that Pope Paul IV had promulgated by his bull *Super Universas* in 1559. The States appealed to the past in a petition to Philip II in 1562 in which they expressed their opposition to the incorporation of some rich abbeys in the new bishoprics in Brabant, a scheme intended to provide the new prelates with an income but which also encroached on the autonomous position of the abbeys. The abbots had a seat in the States. Thus, by influencing the creation of new bishops, the Habsburg overlord increased his power in the States of Brabant, a body that sought to counterbalance Habsburg centralism.[19] In their letter to Philip II, the States of Brabant reminded the king of the 'hereditary and reciprocal obligations' that had bound them together for 'such a long time that there

18 Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, edited by James M. May and Jakob Wisse (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), book 1, section 18.

19 M. Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen*, pp. 119–120.

is neither a memory to the contrary nor of its commencement'.[20] Part of these obligations, the States of Brabant explained to Philip II, was that

> the king Philip, your grandfather [...] promised at his Joyous Entry that he would not permit or consent directly or indirectly that any of the mentioned prelacies or abbeys would be alienated, occupied, or their command ceded, and that the clerics could freely hold their election according to the ancient customs and practices.[21]

The States appealed to a pledge made by Philip I 'the Fair' of Burgundy (1478–1506) to increase the validity of their argument, and this required an explanation, however brief, of what he had promised.

The 'Joyous Entry' was an important legal point of reference in the Low Countries, particularly in Brabant. It was an agreement that the States of Brabant had negotiated with Joanna of Brabant and her husband Wenceslas of Luxembourg in 1356.[22] Exploiting the extinction of the house of Brabant after the death of Joanna's father John III of Brabant in 1355, the States had presented their new rulers with a list of privileges they should swear to uphold.[23] Failure to satisfy the conditions allowed the subjects to (temporarily) disobey their natural lord.[24] From then on whenever a new prince became duke of Brabant, he or she needed to tour its cities not only to witness the local government pledging its loyalty but also to reconfirm and reenact the contract of 1356. These visits became the occasion for spectacular displays and processions. Margit Thøfner has explained that each entry 'was a mechanism for transforming the mere history of the granting of the Joyous Entry charter into

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20 *Documents inédits sur l'Erection des nouveaux Diocèses aux Pays-Bas* (*1521–1570*). *Tome second. De la promulgation des bulles de circonscription et de dotation à la désincorporation des abbayes brabançonnes* (*août 1561–juillet 1564*), edited by M. Dierickx (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1961), p. 172: 'les obligations hereditaires et reciproques', 'de si long tems qu'il n'y a memoire ny du contraire, ny du commencement'.

21 Ibid., p. 175: 'le Roy Philippes, Vostre Grand-père [...] promit en sa Joyeuse Entrée qu'il ne permetteroit ou consenteroit directement ou par indirect qu'aucunes desdictes prelatures ou abbayes fussent alienees, occupies ou delaissees en commandes, ains que les religieux jouiroient librement de leur election, selon les anciennes coustumes et usances'.

22 Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Revolt* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007), p. 52.

23 Ria van Bragt, *De Blijde Inkomst van de hertogen van Brabant Johanna en Wenceslas* (*3 januari*). *Een inleidende studie en tekstuitgave* (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts, 1956), p. 7.

24 See for a text edition of the Joyous Entry: ibid., pp. 95–107; for the section that rebels claimed legitimised resistance, see pp. 105–106.

living memory'.[25] At a later point in this study we will see that by the seventeenth century the spectacles during these ceremonies often referred to the Revolt as an example of how things had gone wrong in the past. For now it suffices to say that this constitutional document played a central role in rebel propaganda because it could be used to support the argument that lordship over Brabant was conditional on the ruler guaranteeing the duchy's privileges. The rebels claimed that Philip II had not done so. On 3 April 1566, citizens of the Brabant city of Antwerp for instance spread a pamphlet against the religious persecutions, in which they argued that these were 'beyond all justice and equity and against all privileges [...] in the first, second, third, fourth and the last article of the Joyous Entry'.[26] The Antwerp supplicants probably felt that a reference to the Joyous Entry supported the argument that the persecution of heretics and the regime's related interferences with local practices of administering justice violated their privileges. Significantly, the Joyous Entry remained an important constitutional document that limited the power base of Habsburg lords in Brabant until the French occupiers at the end of the eighteenth century introduced a new legal system.[27]

These two examples of appeals to the past in political arguments demonstrate the importance of history as a legal precedent. Along the same line, memories of the past, including the recent past, served an exemplary function not only on which to base rights but also as an analogy between past and present that could inspire and persuade people in a variety of contexts. Before the Compromise of the Nobility presented its petition against the religious persecutions to Margaret of Parma, Prince William of Orange—who was then the provincial governor, or 'stadholder', of Holland—wrote a worried letter to Margaret on 24 January 1566. In reaction to the king's command that prosecutors of heresy be given all possible assistance by local authorities, he invoked the past to voice his dissatisfaction:

> Your highness should recall the complaints, opposition and difficulties which arose everywhere in these lands on the occasion of the establishment of the bishops. This was for no other reason than out of fear that it served as a pretext for an attempt to introduce some form of

25 Thøfner, *A Common Art*, p. 56.

26 Godevaert van Haecht, *De kroniek van Godevaert van Haecht over de troebelen van 1565 tot 1574 te Antwerpen en elders* I, edited by Rob van Roosbroeck (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1929), pp. 27–28: 'buyten alle justicie en billicheyt en teghens alle previlegien [...] in 't 1, 2, 3, 4 artycule en in't leste van der blyder incompste.'

27 Van Bragt, *De Blijde Inkomst*, pp. 6–7.

> inquisition, not only the practice of which but also the name is odious and disagreeable.[28]

Prince William related fears in 1566 about the religious persecutions to the opposition against the reorganisation of bishoprics. He recalled the reorganisation not only to reiterate his concern for the maintenance of local privileges but also to inform Margaret of the fear among the population that the introduction of the new bishoprics was a veiled attempt to bring the Spanish inquisition into these lands. Some of the newly appointed bishops, such as Franciscus Sonnius of Den Bosch, had once even served as inquisitors. The prince reminded the governor that both Charles V and her own predecessor, Governor Mary of Hungary, had promised 'by word of mouth as well as in writing', that they would not introduce any form of inquisition.[29] Furthermore, they had assured the inhabitants of the Low Countries to govern in accordance with 'all previous antiquity'.[30] Just as the States of Brabant had done in 1562, Prince William appealed to pledges made by Philip II's dynastic predecessors to enhance the validity of his argument.

The examples above illustrate the existence of a political memory in government circles. William of Orange recalled the past to make a point, and he expected his references to be known to his correspondent. There is more evidence of the existence of such a memory culture among government officials, especially after the outbreak of the Revolt in 1566. Take for example the well-connected deputy of Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal de Granvelle, Maximilien Morillon, who wrote on 30 May 1567 to his master that the rebellious city of Antwerp, which was stubbornly refusing to implement the king's placards, should be treated in the same way that Charles V had punished the Flemish city of Ghent after a rebellion in 1539–40, namely by taking away all of its

28 William of Orange to Margaret of Parma, 24 January 1566, in: *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, Prince d'Orange, Publiée pour la première fois* II, edited by M. Gachard (Brussels: C. Muquardt, 1850), pp. 107–108: 'Vostre Altesse peult avoir souvenance de ce que les plaintes, oppositions et difficultés esmeves par tout le pais de par deça à l'endroit de l'establissement des évesques, n'ont esté pour aultre regart que de peur que soubs prétexte l'on taschat introduire quelque forme d'inquisition tant est non seulement l'exécution, mais aussi le nom odieux et désagréable'.

29 Ibid., p. 108: 'tant de bouche que par escript'.

30 Ibid.: 'de toute ancienneté auparavant'.

privileges.[31] A few days before, Granvelle had already given similar advice to Philip II.[32]

Drawing lessons from the past, Granvelle concluded that only by repression of the rebels could the king get his way. Antwerp's disobedience even provided Philip II with an excuse to increase his authority. The cardinal took the historical analogies further than Morillon by also involving the kingdoms and principalities of the Iberian peninsula in the comparison. He could thus show that although the troubles in the Low Countries were worrying, the house of Habsburg had been in similarly tight spots in the past. Especially Charles V:

> [who] was not master of Spain—being considered in these kingdoms like a foreigner, which they appear to want to imitate in Flanders with regard to your majesty—until the uprising of the communeros of which he was king and master. All this is not so long ago that the memory is lost, of the affairs of the communeros and of Ghent.[33]

Granvelle compared Charles V's handling of the Revolt of the Communeros in 1520s Castile to the situation in the Low Countries, also a collection of independent territories that were each ruled by the king of Spain under different titles: duke of Brabant, duke of Guelders, count of Flanders, etc. The examples of William of Orange, Morillon and Granvelle demonstrate that at the very beginning of the Revolt, government officials appealed to the past in support of conflicting political agendas. William of Orange wanted to prove that moderation of the religious persecutions was the best course of action while the two Habsburg bureaucrats Morillon and Granvelle used the past to argue just the opposite: that harsh action was necessary for the Habsburg overlord to realise his objectives.

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31 Peter Arnade, 'The City Defeated and Defended: Civism as Political Identity in the Habsburg-Burgundian Netherlands', in: Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann, eds., *Networks Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 215.

32 Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle to Philip II, 26 May 1567, in: *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle, 1565–1586* II, edited by Edmond Poullet (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1877), p. 461.

33 Ibid.: 'ni fue señor de España S Magd Cesa, lo cual en aquellos regnos tenian por estrangero, como puresce que en Flándes quieren tener á V. Magn hasta tanto que succediéron las comunidades, las cuales le hiciéron Rey y Señor, y no ha tanto tiempo que sea del todo perdida la memoria, de lo que al tiempo de las dichas communidades, y en lo de Gante de se hizó'.

The Political Potency of Memory

We have seen that a variety of Netherlandish actors considered memories of the past as usable precedents—religious, legal and political—to determine the 'right' course of action or, more generally, to evaluate and place in perspective the political troubles of the 1560s. The past was useful not only for individuals to make sense of the present. It was also used in the public sphere to convince people of a particular interpretation and explanation of events. Since the Revolt signified a radical break with the past, however, such memory-making could be complicated. The popular awareness of rupture is reflected by numerous diary entries of people who wrote down what happened in the troublesome year 1566. The growing presence of hedge preachings by Protestant ministers—a form of *Auslauf* which became especially common in the summer of 1566—made a deep impression as it showed how heresy damaged the fabric of society.[34] Cloth merchant Cornelis van Campene from Ghent condemned these alternative services held outside the city walls. He wrote on 1 September 1566 how 'the present-day cancer and fire, which now, God help us, rule the world, that is: heresy, corrupts body and soul'.[35] The Brussels merchant Jan de Pottre listed the most important events of his life. The first thing he noted for 1566 was that 'around sint Jansmisse new sects began to preach outside the gates of Antwerp, where many people attended preachings.'[36] In the introduction to his diary Marcus van Vaernewijck from Ghent lamented that people are always 'much inclined to new things and to change'.[37] He continued ominously that people's longing for novelty often leads to 'great damage and sorrow, as will become clear in what will follow.' An anonymous author published that same year a booklet recording the most notable outbreaks of

34 Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 68–71.

35 Cornelis van Campene, 'epistele', in: *Dagboek van Cornelis en Philip van Campene behelzende het verhaal der merkwaardigste gebeurtenissen, voorgevallen te Gent sedert het begin der Godsdienstberoerten tot den 5en april 1571*, edited by Frans de Potter (Gent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1870), p. 1: 'dezen jeghenwordeghen canckere ende tvier, twelck nu, God betert, in de werrelt regueert, te weten heresie, bederft zielle ende lichame.'

36 Jan de Pottre, *Dagboek van Jan de Pottre, 1549–1602*, edited by Jules L.D. de Saint-Genois (Gent: C. Annoot-Braeckman), p. 21: 'ontrent sint Jansmisse, doe begost men tot Antwerpen buten de porte te preken van desen nuwer secten, daer seer groot volck ghinck hooren preken'.

37 Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Van die beroerlicke tijden in die Nederlanden en voornamelick in Ghendt 1566–1568* 1, edited by Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen (Gent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1872), p. 1: 'tot veranderijnghe ende nieuwe dijnghen altijts gheneghen'.

iconoclasm, which served 'as an eternal and perpetual memory'. 'Watch here, reader', the author urged, 'the year, month and day that one saw the religion obstructed which was sad to see: oh woe oh calamity'.[38]

Although the rebels challenged the existing order to reach their political objectives, in doing so they created an important communication problem. Operating in a society where historical precedent legitimised the status quo, challengers to the existing order could not simply fall back on traditional public communication strategies. As we have seen, it was possible on the local level to refer to local customs and privileges and argue that the Habsburg overlord violated these in his repression of heretics and dissidents. But the federal nature of these legal systems meant that such references could not support the shared agenda of all Netherlandish rebels. This was a problem because loyalists, unlike rebels, were able to argue that all insurgents were lovers of novelty and troublemakers, both serious accusations in the sixteenth century. This position was reinforced by a repertoire of proclamations, edicts, ceremonies, sermons, pamphlets, and visual media.[39] Alba, for instance, not only demolished the Culemborg palace, as recounted in the beginning of this chapter, but he also ordered the destruction of the public coats of arms of rebels and heretics throughout the Low Countries to cleanse the landscape of signs of heresy and political dissidence.[40] Monica Stensland has pointed out that the Habsburg rulers opted for negative repression of opposition in the form of persecution and censorship rather than for the proliferation of positive royalist thought. Only in edicts, she argues, did the regime spread a more positive image of itself, such as the pardoning of former rebels. Stensland builds on the work of Paul Kléber Monod, who has shown that ruling princes were hesitant to make political arguments in pamphlets and prints because they felt that they ruled by the grace of God and consequently did not need to negotiate their legitimacy.[41] Similarly, Stensland has shown that the Habsburg authorities did not make much effort to persuade Netherlanders of Philip II's right

38 Anonymous, *Corte verhalinghe vande Beeldtstormerije. geschiet binnen dese Nederlanden, als Brabant, Vlaenderen, Hollant, ende Zeeland, ende int lant van Luydick, tot een eeuwige ende perpetuelle memorie der nacomelinghen* (Antwerp: Gheraert Speckmans, 1566): 'Aensiet hier Leser d'iaer / maent / en dach datmen sach die Religie staken / Twelck was deerlick om sien o wee o wach'.

39 Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), pp. 18–24.

40 Ibid., p. 32.

41 Paul Kléber Monod, *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589–1715* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 26.

to rule.[42] The duke of Alba famously wrote to Philip II from Nijmegen on 16 April 1573, advising his master against responding to the slanderous accusations spread by rebel authors since 'to a reply to one [pamphlet] they respond with another six hundred, with one hundred thousand insults'.[43]

Leaving aside whether Alba had served his master well with this advice, the duke was right that rebels were prolific publicists. In their publications they attempted to create a version of events in which disobedience to the natural lord was acceptable under the circumstances. A good example of the way in which the first rebels voiced their grievances was their appropriation of 'Beggar' imagery and iconography. The nobles who presented their petition to Margaret of Parma sought a topsy-turvy alternative for the dominant historical arguments, and they successfully developed recognisable imagery of their opposition movement by adopting the name of 'Beggars', which became synonymous for rebels. Contemporary diarist Godevaert van Haecht provided a popular explanation for the origins of this term. The nobles, he explained, wore grey clothing which led 'a courtier and friend of the regent called Charles de Berlaymont, seeing all these nobles come to court, to say to their disgrace: "what will these Beggars want to do," giving them this name Beggar'.[44] A complementary explanation for the use of the term is that in Habsburg accounts of the nobility's protests the nobles were represented as over-ambitious and greedy persons who had squandered their fortunes and were now seeking ways to improve their lot.[45] Although the term was probably meant as an insult, the nobles appropriated it, shouting 'Long live the Beggars!' in the streets. Following the work of Natalie Zemon Davis, Henk van Nierop considers this positive spin on an insult as a 'symbolic conversion' or 'inversion of roles', a kind of irony which could be used to voice discontent about politically sensitive issues.[46] This inversion technique appealed to other groups: whereas initially the Beggars were only a group of discontented nobles, the term soon

42 Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, p. 36.

43 *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas* II, edited by L.-P. Gachard (Brussels: C. Muquardt, 1848), p. 349: 'A uno que se responda replicarán con otros setecientos, con cien mil desverguenzas'.

44 Van Haecht, *De kroniek* I, p. 30: 'een hovelinck en vrint van de regente geheeten Berlaymont, siende dese edelen al te hove comen, seyde tot haerder scanden: 'Wat sullen dese Guesen al bedryven,' haer gevende desen naem Gues'.

45 See for instance: Margaret of Parma to Philip II, s.d. 1562, in: *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Parme avec Philippe II*, edited by F.A.F.T. baron de Reiffenberg (Brussels: Delevingne et Callewaert, 1842), pp. 1–2.

46 Henk van Nierop, 'Edelman, bedelman. De verkeerde wereld van het Compromis der Edelen', *BMGN* 107:1 (1992), p. 9; Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Reasons of Misrule', in: Natalie

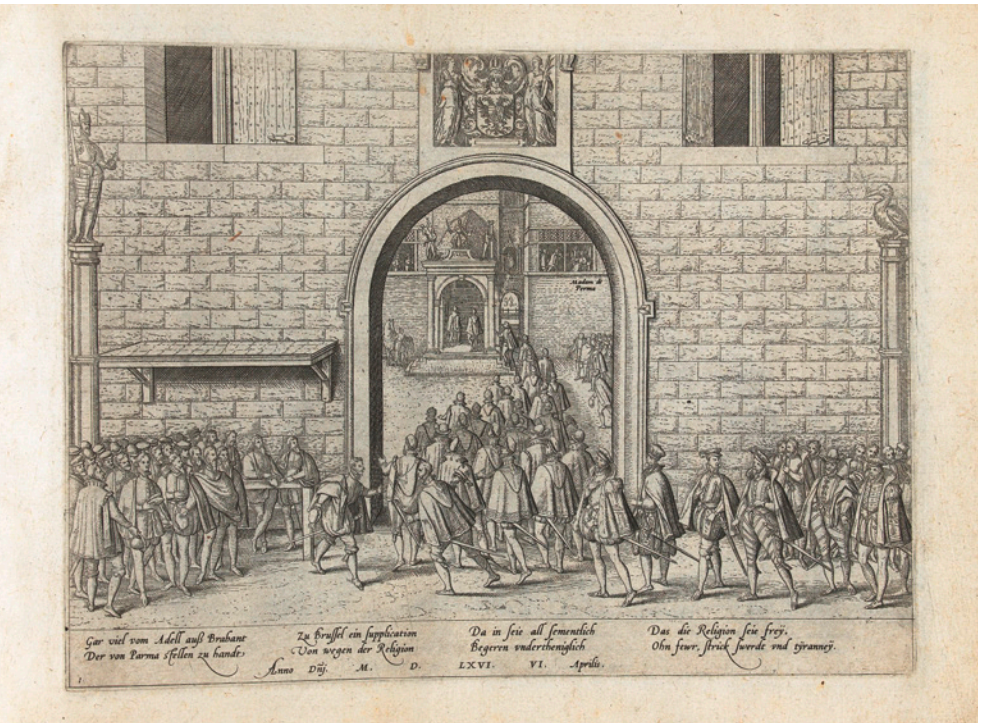
Gar viel vom Adell auß Brabant
Der von Parma ſtellen zu handē
Zu Bruſſel ein ſupplication
Von wegen der Religion
Da in ſein all ſementlich
Begeren underthenigklich
Das die Religion ſein frey,
Ohn fewr, ſtrick ſwerdt vnd tyranney.
Anno Dñi. M. D. LXVI. VI. Aprilis.

FIGURE 3 *Frans Hogenberg, The nobles offer their petition to Margaret of Parma (1566), Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-78.623–2.*

became an umbrella for several protest movements. Diarist Van Haecht, for instance, explained that 'all those who opposed the Roman church became known as beggars, such as in France they were called Huguenots'.[47]

Figure 3 is an iconic illustration of the episode that gave the first rebels their sobriquet 'beggars'. In great numbers, the confederated nobles enter the palace of Governor Margaret of Parma to voice their grievances about the severe religious persecutions. Above the second gate, through the window on the right we can see a few nobles presenting their petition. Standing on Margaret's right is probably Berlaymont, who allegedly coined the term Beggar.[48] A caption describes the scene in verse. Frans Hogenberg, the maker of this print and

Zemon Davis, ed., *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 97–123.

47 Van Haecht, *De kroniek* I, p. 30: 'al wat hierna in Nederlant hem verhief tegen de roomsche kercke kregen den naem guesen, gelyck in Vranckeryck huygenoosen'.

48 Van Nierop, 'Edelman, bedelman', p. 1.

many others, influenced the way people came to look back on the Revolt by presenting the conflict as a sequence of well-defined episodes.[49] As a Protestant exile Hogenberg resided in the European news-hub Cologne, which had been developing as a marketplace for information and news in the second half of the sixteenth century. He began making his prints shortly after the Iconoclastic Furies of 1566 and retrospectively covered events such as the abdication of Charles V (1555), the petition of nobles to Margaret of Parma (April 1566) and the hedge preachings held by Protestants (Summer 1566). From 1566 onwards, he produced prints to report on current events and could have a print finished within six days after hearing of the event.[50] Hogenberg accompanied his prints with informative verses, creating a popular news medium in which he combined figurative depictions with textual explanations.[51] He sold his prints in series as well as separately.[52]

Daniel Woolf has argued that the great political conflicts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, including the Revolt, coincided with 'the emergence of a sense of the past as continuous process and the establishment of the primacy of causal relationships'.[53] Newsprints like Hogenberg's can be seen as examples of this development. In the context of sixteenth-century France Philip Benedict has shown that newsprints recounting recent and profane history developed as a relatively new genre during the religious troubles in Reformation Europe.[54] Hogenberg's French contemporaries Jean Perrissin and Jacques Tortorel created the *Quarante tableaux ou histoires diverses qui sont*

49 Philip Benedict, Lawrence M. Bryant and Kristen B. Neuschel, 'Graphic History: What Readers Knew and Were Taught in the Quarante Tableaux of Perrissin and Tortorel', *French Historical Studies* 28:2 (2005), p. 177.

50 Karel Kinds, *Kroniek van de opstand in de Lage Landen, 1555–1609: actuele oorlogsverslaggeving uit de zestiende eeuw met 228 gravures van Frans Hogenberg* I (Rekem: ALNU, 1999), p. 11; Philip Benedict, *Graphic History: the Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin* (Genève: Droz, 2007), p. 190.

51 Olaf Mörke, 'The Content, Form and Function of Swiss and Dutch Images of History', in: André Holenstein, Thomas Maissen and Maarten Prak, eds., *The Republican Alternative: the Netherlands and Switzerland Compared* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), p. 171.

52 Ramon Voges, 'Macht, Massaker und Repräsentationen: Darstellungen asymmetrischer Gewalt in der Bildpublizistik Franz Hogenbergs', in: Jörg Baberowski and Gabriele Metzler, eds., *Gewalträume. Soziale Ordnungen im Ausnahmezustand* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2012), pp. 59–60.

53 Daniel Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking about the Past, 1500–1700', in: Paulina Kewes, ed., *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2006), p. 36.

54 Benedict, *Graphic History*, p. 76.

memorables touchant les Guerres, Massacres et troubles advenus en France en ces dernieres annees (1569–70), a series of prints that narrated the history of the French Wars of Religion.[55] Not only could sequences of historical episodes be communicated easily by the print medium, but also the medium itself seems to have contributed to the popularity of representing the past as a sequence of well-defined episodes. A print generally depicted and described only one event. Yet, a series of prints such as Perrissin and Tortorel's and Hogenberg's, as an 'ensemble of narratives', could tell the story of an entire conflict.[56] The chronological order implied a certain causality and interpretation of the conflict. Just as Perrissin and Tortorel left their mark on French historiography of the sixteenth-century troubles by 'making certain events famous or "historical"', Hogenberg's two hundred prints on the Revolt influenced the way people in the Republic came into contact with the history of the conflict.[57] Historians began to use successive Hogenberg prints to compose their histories. One of the first national histories of the Revolt, *De Leone Belgico* published in 1583 by Austrian historian Michael Aitsinger, was effectively a compilation of Hogenberg prints accompanied by more elaborate explanatory texts.[58]

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55 Ibid., pp. 201–203; Ursula Mielke and Ger Luijten, eds., *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700* (Oudekerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision, 2009), p. vii.

56 Mörke, 'The Content', p. 171.

57 Benedict, Bryant and Neuschel, 'Graphic History', p. 177.

58 Michael Aitsinger, *De leone Belgico, eiusque topographica atque historica descriptione liber . . . Rerumque in Belgio maxime gestarum, inde ab anno Christi MDLIX usque ad annum MDLXXXIII perpetua narratione continuatus* (Cologne: Impensis Francisci Hogenbergii, 1583); Benedict, Bryant and Neuschel, 'Graphic history', pp. 171–172; The depictions also featured in the most popular histories such as those by Emanuel van Meteren, Pieter Christiaensz Bor, Willem Baudartius, and Pieter Cornelisz Hooft. A selection of Hogenberg's prints was included in each of these works, not merely as illustration but also as important source of inspiration: Kinds, *Kroniek van de opstand in de Lage Landen* I, pp. 241–251 and II, pp. 226–235; Kinds included the following histories: Willem Baudartius, *Afbeeldinghe, ende beschrijvinghe van alle de veld-slagen,* [. . .] *ghevallen in de Nederlanden, geduerende d'oorloghe teghens den coningh van Spaengien* (Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1615); Pieter Christiaensz Bor, *Oorsprongk, begin, en vervolgh der Nederlandsche oorlogen* [. . .] *beginnende met d'opdracht* [. . .] *aen* [. . .] *Philippus van Spanjen, en eindigende met het einde van't jaer MDC* [. . .] *in XXXVII boeken en IV stukken verdeelt* (Amsterdam: Joannes van Someren (wed.), 1679); Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, *Nederlandsche historien* (Amsterdam: Henricus Wetstein, 1703); Emanuel van Meteren, *Historie der Neder-landscher ende haerder na-buren oorlogen ende geschiedenissen* (The Hague: Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw (wed.), 1635).

Prince William of Orange, who fled the Low Countries in 1568, and his adherents were the most important rebel propagandists of the Revolt. From his ancestral home Dillenburg in Germany, Prince William organised an invasion of the Low Countries. As compensation for his relatively weak military position, he devised a propaganda campaign and spread leaflets justifying his own conduct and blackening that of his opponent, the duke of Alba. The prince cleverly circumvented the problem of making a political point without the past to back it up. Claiming that the primary cause of discontent was the introduction of the Inquisition, William of Orange argued that opponents to the religious persecutions had 'begged obediently and friendly' for moderation but that 'nevertheless, it [the Inquisition] was introduced' and proceeded against 'poor innocent Christians'.[59] Although his opposition to the Inquisition was not so extraordinary, remarkably Prince William abstained from engaging in the kind of religious polemic some other rebels cultivated. His propaganda campaign was relatively inclusive, as a response to other rebels who were driven by anti-Catholic sympathies and who resorted to religious violence, notably the Beggars under the leadership of the 'Great Beggar' Henry van Brederode.[60] As we saw in Godevaert van Haecht's chronicle, the Beggars quickly became known as opponents of Catholicism, and less militant people held them responsible for the Iconoclastic Furies and other anti-Catholic violence. The prince of Orange's pamphlets, conversely, avoided religious controversy and were full of references to a communal 'Netherlandish' feeling and xenophobia towards Spanish people. They targeted the 'tyrannical nature' of the Spanish rulers and soldiers but did not denigrate Catholicism. The prince's 1568 invasion failed miserably, yet his propaganda was rather successful, setting the tone for decades to come.[61] Following William of Orange's example,

59 William of Orange, *Verklaringe ende wtschrift des… heer Willem, prince van Oranien ec., ende zijner excellentien nootsakelicken defensie teghen den duca de Alba, ende zijne grouwelijcke tyrannye* (1568), f. 1v: 'onderdanichlick ende vriendelick ghebeden / nochtans is de selve in die Nederlanden voorledener tijt inghebracht […] teghen die aerme onschuldighe Christenen'.

60 Duke, 'In Defence of the Common Fatherland', pp. 232–233.

61 Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 11, 151, 287; K.W. Swart, *Willem van Oranje en de Nederlandse Opstand, 1572–1584*, edited by Raymond Fagel, M.E.H.N. Mout and Henk van Nierop (The Hague: SDU, 1994), pp. 194–199; the prince also tried to dissociate himself from some beggars, who had acquired a reputation in the Southern Netherlands of being as ruthless as Spanish soldiers: Alastair Duke, 'Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982), pp. 128–129; Duke, 'In Defence of the Common Fatherland', p. 233.

rebels began to define 'the Netherlander' in negative terms as someone against Habsburg centralism and against Alba but also in positive terms as a champion of freedom from foreign oppression.[62]

Rebel propaganda reached out not only to local elites but also appealed to the population in general through the wide variety of media rebels used to spread their interpretation of the conflict. Prints, songs and news pamphlets enabled news of the Revolt to reach the population quickly.[63] Political songs played a central role in the dissemination of rebel thought, and as multiple scholars have pointed out, they constituted an accessible medium.[64] Louis Grijp has shown in his study of these songs that they were of topical interest. They stemmed from the period of the covered event, and many dozens of songs were published in the 1560s, '70s and '80s: the most turbulent period of the Revolt.[65] Rebel songs primarily served propagandistic purposes and as carriers of news. Halfway through the 1570s printers began compiling these songs into so-called Beggar (i.e. rebel) songbooks, which narrated 'all occurrences in the Netherlandish histories'.[66] These books became very popular and remained so in the seventeenth century. Whereas authors of political songs mainly intended them to convince the audience of a certain political view and to communicate news, Beggar songbooks also began to serve as histories of the Revolt. Take for example *A New Song narrating briefly the occurrences in the Netherlands* [*Een Nieu Liedeken / verhalende int cort den handel der Nederlanden*], which was published in a 1588 edition of the songbook. The song effectively summarised

62 M.E.H.N. Mout, 'Van arm vaderland tot eendrachtige republiek: De rol van politieke theorieën in de Nederlandse Opstand', *BMGN* 101:3 (1986), pp. 345–355.

63 Henk van Nierop has noted the relatively high degree of popular participation in political debates in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic: Henk van Nierop, 'Popular Participation in Politics in the Dutch Republic', in: Peter Blickle, ed., *Resistance, Representation and Community* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 272–281; see for the political character of news reporting in the Low Countries: Craig E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), p. 44.

64 Judith Pollmann, '"Hey ho, let the cup go round!" Singing for Reformation in the Sixteenth Century', *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 294–298.

65 Louis Grijp, 'Van geuzenlied tot Gedenck-clanck: eerste deel: het geuzenliedboek in de Gouden Eeuw', *Zeventiende Eeuw* 10:1 (1994), pp. 121–122; Martine de Bruin, 'Bevroren boekjes: een Geuzenliedboek van 1577–1578 en andere vondsten', in: Frank Willaert, ed., *Veelderhande liedekens. Studies over het Nederlandse lied tot 1600* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), p. 84.

66 See for instance: anonymous, *Een nieu Geusen Lieden-Boecxken, waarine begrepen is den gantschen handel der Nederlantscher gheschiedenissen* (s.l.: s.n., 1581).

the history of the Revolt, from 1566 to the year 1584, and begins as follows: 'As has been written, in the year fifteen-hundred and sixty-six, the assembled nobility of the land (because so many feared for their lives) demanded to be freed of the strict placard'.[67] In the margins, the respective dates were placed side-by-side with the narrated history. Songs like these no longer served merely to inform inhabitants of news that was happening around them but also to create a historical chronology of what had happened.

In 1580, Philip II set a price on the prince of Orange's head and promised any assassin who would kill the prince 25,000 golden crowns and ennoblement.[68] To justify this move against the prince, in his proclamation the Spanish king gave a rare official account of what had caused the Revolt and, especially, of William's part in the conflict. He began by mentioning the favours which his late father Charles V had bestowed on Prince William, for example by allowing his protégé to inherit the principality of Orange and by promoting him at court, 'although hee [the prince] was a stranger'.[69] Furthermore, Philip II himself had made William of Orange a knight of the Golden Fleece, appointed him stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, and introduced the prince as a member of the Council of State. Despite all these favours, Philip stated,

> Every one knoweth, that we were not so soone departed, out of those our low Countreyes, but that the sayd William of Nassau, made prince of Orange by the meanes above mentioned, did by his sinister practices, devises and craftes assaie [...] to get the good willes of those whome he knew to be discontent, greatly endebted, haters of iustice, studious of novelties, and speciallie such as were suspected to be of the religion.[70]

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67 Anonymous, *Een nieu Geusen Lieden-Boecxken waerinne begrepen is den gantschen Handel der Nederlandtscher geschiedenissen, dees voorleden Jaeren tot noch toe geschiedt eensdeels onderwijlen in Druck uutghegaen, eendeels nu nieu byghevoecht. Nu nieulick vermeerdert ende verbetert. Vive Dieu, La Santé du Roy, & la Prospérité des Geus* (s.l.: s.n., 1588), f. 79r: 'Alsmen een duysent vijfhondert Jaer / En sessentsestich heeft gheschreven, [1566. 5. April] / Versocht sLandts Adel alle gaer / (Om datmer veel brocht om tleven) / Vant straffe ghebodt uutghegheven / Binnen Bruyssel te zijn bevrijt'.

68 Philip II, *Ban ende edict by forme van proscriptie, vvtghegaen ende gedecreteert by* [...] *de coninck, tegens Wilhelm van Nassau, prince van Orangien* (Den Bosch: Ian Schoeffer, 1580), f. b3r; the English translation was taken from an appendix to William of Orange's *Apology*: *The apologie or defence, of* [...] *prince William* [...] *prince of Orange* [...] *against the proclamation* [...] *by the king of Spaine* (Delft: s.n., 1581), f. 11r.

69 Philip II, *Ban ende edict*, f. a2e; William of Orange, *The apologie*, f. p3r.

70 Philip II, *Ban ende edict*, f. a2r; William of Orange, *The apologie*, f. p3v.

Holding him responsible for the nobility's petition in 1566, the Habsburg overlord especially abhorred Prince William's pretensions of acting in his royal name while, in actual fact, he was undermining royal authority as the foremost agitator of the rebellion and as protector of the Reformed.

Philip II's references to and interpretation of the recent past provoked heated reactions, not least from Prince William himself. In his famous *Apology*, published in 1581, the prince responded to each of Philip II's accusations and tried to convince his readers, in Dutch, French, English and Latin, of his interpretation of events.[71] First he dealt with the king's allegation of ingratitude. The prince agreed that 'nothing is so much to be condemned in this world, as a man defiled with these two spottes and staines, to wit, of unthankfulness and unfaithfulness', but he denied that he had acted ungratefully.[72] About Charles V's supposed generosity in allowing William to succeed his cousin René of Châlon as prince of Orange, Prince William wondered what was so generous about this gesture. He argued that 'there was never any lorde as yet founde so evil advised, that would pretend right against me for succession', and he posed the rhetorical question: 'in so much that the emperour hath not hindered me in that, what hath he done for me, that a iudge, the greatest enemie I could have, would not have done likewise?'[73] William explained, for instance, that his succession to the Nassau-Breda territories was in line with tradition, Breda being 'the principall place of my lordshippes, and where I and my predecessours had helde our chambers of accountes, counsel, and principall instructions pertaining to us and ours'. He continued with a brief but rather intricate summary of the line of succession in acknowledgement of his father who had relinquished his claim to the princely title in favour of his son William:

> who was he [Charles V] that might molest me in that, unlesse it were my lorde my father, who was the uncle, and I the cousin germain, of my lord the prince Rene, the onely sonne of my lord Henrie, countie of Nassau, my uncle, and the brother of my lorde my father?[74]

71 William of Orange, *Apologie, ofte verantwoordinghe des doerluchtighen ende hooghgheborenen vorsts ende heeren, heeren Wilhelms* [...] *teghen den ban* [...] *ghepubliceert by den coningh van Spaegnien* (Leiden: Charles Silvius, 1581); see also: William of Orange, *Apologie ov defense de tresillustre prince Guillaume* [...] *contre le ban & edict publié par le roi d'Espagne* (Leiden: Charles Silvius, 1581); William of Orange, *The apologie*; William of Orange, *Apologia illvstrissimi principis Willelmi* [...] *ad proscriptionem ab Hispaniarum rege in eum promulgatam* (Leiden: Charles Silvius 1581); the English edition will be cited.

72 William of Orange, *The Apologie*, f. C1v.

73 Ibid., f. C2r.

74 Ibid., ff. C2r–v.

In reaction to Philip's reference to William's appointment to the Council of State the prince argued that 'the cardinall [i.e. Antoine Perrenot, cardinal of Granvelle] and others practiced this matter, that I might be called thereto, thinking thereby to cloake and cover themselves, onely with my authoritie before the people'.[75] As for Philip II's dismissal of William as a 'stranger' or foreigner, the prince repudiated the charges again by pointing to his possessions in the Low Countries, notably in Breda, held by his family for many generations. He added that Philip acted 'as if the prince of Parma [i.e. governor-general Alexander Farnese], were a great country man, who was not borne in this country, nor hath not a farthing worth of goods here, nor any title'.[76] Apart from his defence the prince also went on the offensive. Philip had accused the prince of unlawfully marrying Charlotte de Bourbon because William's second wife Anne of Saxony was still alive at the time of the wedding. William replied in kind and accused Philip of being an 'incestuous king [...] yet they dare reproch me, with a holy, an honest, and a lawfull maruage [sic]'.[77] This charge of incest was founded on Philip's marriage to Anne of Austria, who, as the daughter of his sister Infanta Mary, was his niece. William continued his muckraking by arguing that in order to marry Anne King Philip had had his wife Elisabeth of Valois killed:

> he I say, dare upbraied me with my mariage, who (to the end he might obtaine such a mariage) hath cruelly murthered his owne wife, the daughter and sister of the kings of Fraunce (as I understande they have in Fraunce, informations and instructions concerning that matter).[78]

And it did not end here. Prince William accused Philip of murdering his own mentally unstable son Don Carlos and of other iniquitous crimes. The prince attacked the moral standing of Philip II to affect the credibility of the Spanish king's allegations against him.

Despite William's *Apology* and after a failed assassination attempt by Jean Jaureguy in 1582, Balthasar Gérard—a Catholic zealot from the Franche-Comté—murdered the prince in 1584. It was not going well with the Revolt at the time of the prince's death. Already in 1581, the States General had decided to abjure the Spanish king, and together with Prince William they had appointed the brother of the French king Henry III, Francis of Anjou, as their

75 Ibid., f. e1v.
76 Ibid., f. e4r.
77 Ibid., f. e2r.
78 Ibid.

new sovereign. This experiment failed as the new sovereign felt his powers were curbed too much by Prince William and the States. On 17 January 1583 Duke Francis, frustrated, tried to seize the city of Antwerp where the Spanish Fury (1576) of a few years earlier was still fresh in the public memory.[79] The duke was unsuccessful, lost all goodwill and left the country. While the duke of Anjou's rebel government was turning out a wretched failure, Habsburg army commander Alexander Farnese was busy reconquering the rebel territories. In March 1585 he took Brussels, and a few months later, on 17 August, he captured the city of Antwerp. Farnese pardoned the population in the territories he had conquered in the 1580s, but he did so on the condition that they would peacefully return under Philip II's authority. He offered remaining heretics who persisted in their religious deviancy a relatively generous opportunity of liquidising their assets and emigrating.[80]

Many inhabitants chose exile over conforming to the new order. Historians estimate that about one hundred thousand people fled the Southern Netherlands after the Revolt broke out, and this outpouring resulted in a period of diminished literary production.[81] 'Those who stay do not write', argues F.G. Scheelings, because they conformed to the restored Habsburg and Catholic regime.[82] Indeed, during the period of Farnese's governorship (1578–1592) and the subsequent years no substantial work of national history by an indigenous author appeared in the vernacular languages in the Habsburg Netherlands.[83] Scheelings rightly argues that inhabitants of the reconciled Habsburg Netherlands simply had to acknowledge the failure of the rebellion. In this set-

79 See, for instance: *Corte verclaringe* [...] *nopende den aenslach teghen de selue stadt aengericht den XVII. deser maent ianuarij. M.D.LXXXIII. stylo nouo* (Antwerp: Christoffel Plantijn, 1583), f. a3r.

80 Violet Soen, 'Reconquista and Reconciliation in the Dutch Revolt: The Campaign of Governor-General Alexander Farnese (1578–1592)', *Journal of Early Modern History* 16:1 (2012), pp. 10–11.

81 J. Briels, *De Zuid-Nederlandse immigratie, 1572–1630* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1978), pp. 11–12; Gustaaf Asaert, *1585: De val van Antwerpen en de uittocht van Vlamingen en Brabanders* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2004), pp. 33–47; W.J.C. Buitendijk, *Het calvinisme in de spiegel van de Zuidnederlandse literatuur der Contra-Reformatie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1942), p. 16.

82 Scheelings, 'De geschiedschrijving', pp. 151–180.

83 One of the first general South Netherlandish histories of the Revolt was Florentius van der Haer, *De initiis tumultuum belgicorum ad Serenissimum D.D. Alexandrum Farnesium Parmae et Placentiae Ducem Libri Duo* (Douai: Johannes Bogardus, 1587); Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, p. 144.

ting it was not expedient to remember past quarrels.[84] Publicly remembering the Revolt was not even allowed. To alleviate the popular fear of persecution and prevent litigation about what had happened during the tumultuous years of the Revolt the restored Habsburg authorities forbade public commemorations of the conflict in their reconciliation treaties with the rebellious cities, a practice that was also common in French reconciliation treaties during the Wars of Religion.[85] Article 2 of the reconciliation treaty for Antwerp decreed, for instance, that 'to remove and bar all cause for distrust and dissidence' the memory of the city's Calvinist past would be 'erased and undone like matters that have never happened, without them ever being allowed to be researched, inquired or reproached [...] on pain of being convicted as disturber and agitator of the communal peace.'[86] And this article pertained not only to the living but also to the dead, whose memory was not allowed to be meddled with by public or private persons.[87] Similar *oublis du passé* were issued in other reconciled cities such as Ghent, Brussels, and Nijmegen, placing the Revolt between brackets as an undesirable interruption of dynastic and religious continuity.[88] The cities in the Northern part of the Low Countries that Parma failed to capture, however, did not need to negotiate capitulation treaties and therefore did not institute any formal requirement to forget the Revolt.[89]

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84 Scheelings, 'De geschiedschrijving', p. 167.

85 Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, p. 170.

86 *Articvlen |ende conditien vanden tractate, aengegaen ende ghesloten tusschen de* [...] *prince van Parma* [...] *ende de stadt van Antwerpen* [...] *den xvii. augusti, m.d. lxxxv* (Antwerp: Daniel Vervliet, 1585), article 2: 'om wech te nemen ende weeren alle oorsaken van mistrouwcheyt en diffidentie', 'waer van de gedenckenisse wt ende te niete gedaen sal blijven/ als van saken die noyt geschiet en zijn / sonder dat sy deshalve oyt ondersocht / geinquiteert oft gereproceert sullen mogen worden [...] Op pene dat de overtreders ghestraft sullen worden als verstoorders ende veroerders van de gemene ruste'.

87 Ibid., article 2.

88 *Articles et conditions, de par Monseigneur le Prince de Parme & Plaisance, &c.* [...] *accordez a la Ville de Gand, & inhabitans d'icelle le xvii^me^ de Septembre. m.d.lxxxiiii* (Ghent: Corneille de Rekenare and Gaultier Manilius, 1584), article 1; *Articulen ende Conditien vanden Tractate aengegaen ende gesloten tusschen die* [...] *prince van Parma* [...] *ende de Stadt van Bruesele* [...] *den x. Meerte xv^c^. lxxxv* (Brussels: Jan Mommaert, 1585), article 1; *Tractaet gemaeckt tusschen den prince van Parma* [...] *ende die stadt van Nymeghen* [...] *den xv. Aprilis*. (Rees: Derick Wylicks van Santen, 1585), article 1.

89 For oblivion policies in other parts of early modern Europe, see: R. Marcowitz and W. Paravicini, eds., *Vergeben und Vergessen? Vergangenheitsdiskurse nach Besatzung, Bürgerkrieg und Revolution / Pardonner et oublier? Les discours sur le passé après l'occupation, la guerre civile et la révolution* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), also online

Despite these policies of oblivion, Stensland has shown that loyalist authors were quite consistent in their explanations of the origins of the conflict. She exemplifies this coherence by pointing to the public—loyalist—image of William of Orange. Almost without exception loyalists considered him as a rebel troublemaker. We do not yet see any such coherence in the rebel camp where, at least during the first decades of the Revolt, Orange is seen as both an inadequate leader and a heroic saviour of the country.[90] Even in the Northern Netherlands, where in the seventeenth century people began to see Prince William as a national hero, this reputation was not there from the start. Judith Pollmann has pointed out that by the time of his death the rebellion was perilously close to collapse. At the time, Orange's propaganda, although very influential, had not been able to create a lasting hegemonic memory of events. Pollmann rightly notes that only in the 1610s did the States General commission a monumental tomb for William of Orange. Before that, he had been buried in an unremarkable grave.[91]. In the Northern Netherlands, the hotchpotch of politicised and conflicting information spread by William of Orange, Hogenberg and the Beggars did not yet offer a coherent story of the past. As we will see in the next chapter such a story would emerge only later.

Memory and Historiography

During the first decades of the Revolt some people saw in wondrous events such as comets and lunar eclipses signs of God's imminent intervention in the troubles of the land.[92] In 1578, for example, Niclaes Bazelius—a town physician from Bergues Saint-Winoc—suggested that 'the great miseries, fears, anxieties, and calamities drawing nigh to people of all states, conditions, and convictions during this troublesome and seditious year' could be explained by the 'terrible and long lasting occultation, or eclipse of the moon' that occurred in 1577.[93] Bazelius probably referred to 1578 as a 'troublesome and seditious year'

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accessible on http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/phs/marcowitz-paravicini_vergeben (accessed 2 November 2013).

90 Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, pp. 105–107.

91 Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden*, p. 10.

92 Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, p. 59.

93 M. Niclaes Bazelius, *Een nieuwe prognosticatie vanden wonderlijcken ende ellendighen Jare ons Heeren 1578* (Antwerp: Hendrick Heyndricksen, 1578), f. a3v: 'de groote ellenden / ancxten / benautheden, ende rampsalicheden die alle menschen van wat state, conditie /

because of the rebel and Calvinist take-over of many cities and the radicalisation of the Revolt.[94] He named more examples in support of his argument. In 1565 there was a lunar eclipse, 'which operation had, to our great sorrow, made its effects public on the year 1566', the year that the Iconoclastic Furies broke out.[95]

Astrology was one way of explaining the troubles in the Low Countries; historiography was another and an increasingly popular one. It is important to note that history-writing was not the preserve of central government authorities. In fact, the rebel States General appear to have felt reluctant to take the initiative. In the first decades of the Revolt they did virtually nothing to have their interpretation of the past recognised by others or even to develop such an image. Cities and provinces were much more active as memory makers.[96] The province of Zeeland, for instance, commissioned from 1593 onwards a monumental series of tapestries commemorating the Zeeland war effort.[97] The States of Holland employed historiographers such as Hadrianus Junius and Janus Dousa and gave them access to government papers.[98] On the local level historians published rebel histories soon after the actual events. After the 1572 massacre of Naarden an anonymous author published a book about the event that same year.[99] After the siege of Leiden in 1573–74, chronicler Jan

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ende ghesintheyt hy zy alle desen beroerlicken ende seditieusen Jare nakende zijn', 'den verschrickelycken ende seer langhe gheduerende verduysternisse / ofte Eclips vander Mane'; see also: Tabitta van Nouhuys, *The Age of Two-Faced Janus: The Comets of 1577 and 1618 and the Decline of the Aristotelian World View in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 200; C. Doris Hellman, *The Comet of 1577: Its Place in the History of Astronomy* (New York: AMS Press, 1971), pp. 243–247.

94 H.A. Enno van Gelder, *Revolutionnaire Reformatie. De vestiging van de Gereformeerde Kerk in de Nederlandse gewesten, gedurende de eerste jaren van de Opstand tegen Filips II, 1575–1585* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 1943), pp. 45–79.

95 Bazelius, *Een nieuwe prognosticatie*, f. a4v: 'welcker operatie opt Jaer 1566, heeft zyn effecten ghenoech tot onsen alder grooten verdriete openbaer ghemaeckt'.

96 Eekhout, 'Material Memories', pp. 123–127.

97 Katie Heyning and Valentijn Byvanck, *De tapijten van Zeeland* (Middelburg: Zeeuws Museum, 2007).

98 Chris L. Heesakkers and Wilma M.S. Reinders, *Genoeglijk bovenal zijn mij de Muzen. De Leidse neolatijnse dichter Janus Dousa (1545–1604)* (Leiden: Dimensie, 1993), p. 66; Coen Maas, 'The Lure of the Dark Ages: Writing the Middle Ages and Political Rhetoric in Humanist Historiography from the Low Countries', unpublished PhD dissertation (Leiden, 2012), pp. 261–265.

99 Anonymous, *Moort-dadich verhael vande gheschiedenissen, moort ende destructie vande stede van Naerden, behoorende onder't Graefschap van Hollandt, gheleghen in*

Fruytiers published a history of the siege in 1574.[100] Local historians were keen to preserve for the future the memory of noteworthy events, but a tradition of narrating the history of the Revolt as a 'Netherlandish' conflict developed quite slowly. Mainly foreigners, such as the Italian historian Ludovico Guicciardini, benefitting from an outsider perspective, wrote histories and chorographies about the Low Countries in the 1560s and early 1570s, mostly in Latin, French, German and Italian.[101] Natives were more concerned with regional and local perspectives on the past.[102] A Netherlandish outlook existed primarily in William of Orange's propaganda.

On the Catholic and loyalist side, the first general histories of the conflict in Latin emerged in print in the late 1580s. In 1587, Richard Verstegan, a Catholic polemicist and historian, published the first edition of his *Theatre of Cruelties of Heretics in Our Time* [*Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis*] although this work dealt with the sufferings of the universal Catholic Church rather than just the Low Countries conflict.[103] That same year Florentius van der Haer's *De initiis tumultuum belgicorum* appeared in Douai.[104] Historians have pointed out that the work of Van der Haer was the first coherent history of the Revolt of the Netherlands written by a native inhabitant.[105] Van der Haer wrote it in honour of Alexander Farnese, who had reconquered large territories for the Habsburg cause, and also in gratitude for Farnese's conferral of a prebendary in the chapter of St Waltrude in Mons.[106] It was a very influential work, cited frequently by South Netherlandish Catholic historians and

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Naerdingerlandt, (*eertijts also genaemt*) *ende nu Goylant, ghedaen by den Spagniaerden onder den Velt-Oversten Don Frederico, sone van den Hertoghe van Alva, gouverneur generael vande Nederlanden, op ten i. Decembris ende andere daer aen volghende daghen* (s.l.: s.n., 1572).

100 Jan Fruytiers, *Corte beschryuinghe vande strenghe belegheringhe ende wonderbaerlicke verlossinghe der stadt Leyden* (Delft: Aelbrecht Hendricksz, 1574).

101 See, for example, Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore ou Basse Allemaigne* (Antwerp: s.n., 1567); Judith Pollmann, 'Internationalisering en de Nederlandse Opstand', *BMGN* 124:4 (2009), pp. 515–516.

102 Steven Gunn, David Grummitt and Hans Cools, *War, State and Society in England and the Netherlands, 1477–1559* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 321–322.

103 Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: Adriaen Huybrechts, 1587).

104 Florentius van der Haer, *De initiis tvmvltvvm Belgicorvm* [...] *libri dvo* (Douai: Ioannis Bogardi, 1587).

105 Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, p. 144; Romein, 'Spieghel Historiael', p. 30.

106 'Van der Haer ou Haraeus, Florent', in: *Messager des sciences historiques ou archives des arts et de la bibliographie* 31 (1863), p. 457.

North Netherlandish Reformed authors alike.[107] Although the work appeared in 1587 and honoured Farnese, it covered the origins of the Revolt only up to the arrival of the duke of Alba in 1567. The fact that Van der Haer did not discuss the violent 1570s and 1580s may explain why his history could become so well respected in the South. By limiting the number of episodes Van der Haer could focus on the fundamental errors of the rebels. Indeed, the main achievement of Van der Haer was to provide an influential historical basis for the idea that the Revolt had been caused by three factors: over-ambitious nobles such as William of Orange, opposition to the reorganisation of the bishoprics and, most importantly, heresy.[108]

Not all history went on the market quite so smoothly. When, a few decades later, Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio wrote a history of the Low Countries conflict, it took some time to have it legally published. Bentivoglio had been the Papal Nuncio in the period 1607–1615. When his work was ready for publication in 1629, the attorney-general of Brabant intervened. According to Infanta Isabella's physician and antiquarian Jean-Jacques Chifflet, well-informed in matters of historiography, the attorney-general 'found some passages to the detriment of the prince and to the advantage of the states and their privileges, which he will correct accordingly.'[109] As we will see in chapter 4, 1629 was a turbulent year for the Habsburg regime, which explains why the government of Brabant thought it too risky to let historical justifications of local privileges be published.

In the North, history could be equally controversial. It took more than ten years after the publication of Van der Haer's 1587 history before the first Netherlandish history was published in the Dutch Republic. Its author, Emanuel van Meteren, presented it to the States of Holland on 6 January 1599.[110] He actively approached national, provincial and local government authorities

107 Samuel de Wind, *Bibliotheek der Nederlandsche Geschiedschrijvers* (Middelburg: Gebroeders Abrahams, 1835), pp. 209–213.

108 Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, p. 147.

109 Jean-Jacques Chifflet to Jean-François Guidi di Bagno, 23 November 1629, in: 'Texte intégral des lettres de Philippe et de Jean-Jacques Chifflet sur les affaires des Pays-Bas (1627–1639) publiées sous forme d'analyses dans les in-8o de la Commission Royale d'Histoire par Bertrand de Meester de Ravestein', edited by Bernard de Meester de Ravestein (1943), KBR, MS II 7277, f. 286: 'on treuve à dire à quelques passages au desavantage du Prince et à l'avantage des Estatz et de leurs privilèges, qu'il conviendra réformer.'

110 A.E.M. Jansen, 'A "Trias Historica" on the Revolt of the Netherlands: Emanuel van Meteren, Pieter Bor and Everhard van Reyd as Exponents of Contemporary Historiography', in: A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse, eds., *Clio's Mirror. Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1985), p. 16.

with copies of the book in the hope they would support him financially for his efforts and because he believed they should take notice of the history of the Republic.[111] In Enkhuizen, for instance, the city, four burgomasters and the admiralty each received a copy. Brummel also found copies with dedications to Zeeland and to Friesland.[112] On 5 January, the day before the official presentation, Van Meteren wrote a letter to merchant Daniel van der Meulen, asking him to 'present my published memories in my name to the city of Leiden, with such recommendations as you see fit'.[113] Van Meteren explained that he was 'advised to present each of the important cities of Holland with a [copy]' and with a handwritten dedication, not in print so as to keep up his public appearance of impartiality.[114] In print he addressed himself more generally 'to the States, cities and inhabitants of the Low Countries' and expressed his wonder 'that a general history of the events in the Netherlands of our day has been lacking so far'.[115] Citing Cicero, Van Meteren argued that from 'a history of this kind', Netherlanders 'might draw [...] very useful lessons, in order to regulate henceforth their government, actions and profession'.[116]

A recurrent difficulty of history-writing was the risk of offending people personally or insulting groups of people.[117] The reception of Emanuel van Meteren's history exemplifies the complexity of publishing a general history of a divisive conflict, although as Brummel has shown the sources rarely provide satisfactory information. Van Meteren tried to avoid suspicions

111 L. Brummel, *Twee ballingen 's lands tijdens onze opstand tegen Spanje. Hugo Blotius (1534–1608) en Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), p. 100.

112 Ibid., pp. 100–101.

113 Emanuel van Meteren to Daniel van der Meulen, 5 January 1599, in: Z.W. Sneller, 'Brieven van Emanuel van Meteren en van Pieter Bor', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 56 (1935), p. 277: 'desen mijn gedruckte Memorien in mijnen name te presenteren aen de stadt van Leijden, met alsulcken recommandatien, als U.L. best sullen goetduncken'.

114 Ibid., pp. 277–278: 'ben geraden de hooftsteden van Hollant elck eenen te presenteren'.

115 Emanuel van Meteren, *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie, van onsen tijden* (Delft: J.C. Vennecool, 1599), f. *2r: 'aen de Staten / Steden ende Inghesetenen vande Nederlanden'; 'dat de generale Historie der Nederlantsche gheschiedenissen van onsen tijde / tot noch toe is achterghehouden'. Further English translations are from Jansen, 'A Trias Historica', p. 16.

116 Van Meteren, *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie*, f. *2r: 'daer wt connen trecken seer profijtelijcke leeringen / om hare regiringe / handelinghe ende professie daer naer voortaen te reguleren'.

117 Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, p. 297.

of partisanship, but the appearance of his first edition was a bit of a fiasco.[118] Shortly after publication, the States of Holland, in a meeting of the States General on 8 January 1599, 'declared to find that in matters of state the book was remiss and that therefore they could not honour the author for his efforts as long as nothing was altered'.[119] The delegates from Utrecht had also found fault with Van Meteren's account. The reason for their disapproval is unclear but perhaps Van Meteren's self-declared pursuit of impartiality made things worse. In a subsequent meeting of the States General, on 31 January, a letter from Count Philip of Hohenlohe was read in the assembly. Hohenlohe, lieutenant-general of Holland and Zeeland, wrote 'that one person named Van Meteren, had asserted in his history some matters which damaged his grace, and that hurt his person and honour.'[120] Van Meteren was therefore summoned to the assembly to explain himself and reveal his sources. The author 'who, having been heard, could give no other source than hearsay' failed to satisfy his questioners. They therefore ordered 'that he would distribute none of the mentioned books, and that the other copies would be collected from the bookseller and brought to the Lords States General'.[121]

Hohenlohe and the States were not the only critics of Van Meteren's work. Reformed clergymen criticised the author for confessional inaccuracies although the sources do not reveal their precise objections. At the synod of South Holland in the Holland town of Woerden in August 1604, for example, representatives complained that Van Meteren's 'many falsehoods [...] bring damage and trouble to the Reformed churches'.[122] The synod proposed to draw

118 Brummel, *Twee ballingen*, pp. 121–122; 'Emanuel van Meteren', in: E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier en G.A.C. van der Lem, eds., *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500–1800* (The Hague: Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 1990), pp. 284–287.

119 'Verbael van't ghene ter vergaderinghe der Heeren Staten Generael is ghepasseert van 1594 tot 1599', in: J.J. Dodt van Flensburg, 'Iets over het geschiedkundig werk van Emanuel van Meteren', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, Oudheden en Statistiek van Utrecht* 8 (1842), p. 203: 'verclaerden te bevynden, dat daerinne in materie vanden Staet soude wesen gefailgieert, ende dat sy daeromme den autheur emmers voor als noch nyet en conden vereeren, soe es hetselve daerby blyven staen'.

120 Ibid.: 'dat eenen, ghenaempt van Meteren, in zyne historie enighe saken soude hebben aenghetoghen, daerby syn ghenade hem houdt grotelyck vercort, ende dat deselve zyne persoon ende eer nadeelich soude wesen'.

121 Ibid., p. 204: 'dat hy eghene vande voorsz. boecken vorder en soude distribueren, ende dat men van den boecvercoper de resterende exemplaren soude doen halen ende brenghen onder de Heeren Staten Generael'.

122 *Acta der provinciale en particuliere synoden, gehouden in de Noordelijke Nederlanden gedurende de jaren 1572–1620* III, edited by J. Reitsma and S.D. van Veen (Groningen:

the author's attention to 'several errors' and to 'request that he improve them in his chronicle'.[123] Should Van Meteren refuse to cooperate, 'the deputies will issue a warning against his mentioned chronicle'.[124] Furthermore, the synod instructed each South Holland classis 'that from their midst they will choose someone who will keep an eye on all matters of church'. All observations from the different classes would then be combined and sent to the historiographer of the States General and professor of history at Leiden University, Paulus Merula, who was working on an official national history. These activities continued for quite some years. In 1605, the South Holland synod assembled in Rotterdam and ordered the classes to 'note all historical memoirs with regard to the churches in these lands, to send these to Paulus Merula, so that having an accurate account of affairs, he may subsequently draft a better version of his Netherlandish histories which he is writing on the order of the States General.'[125] In 1606, the synod was held in Gorinchem, and similar orders were distributed.[126] Merula's history never appeared. By the time the synod assembled in Delft on 14 August 1607, Merula had died before he could finish his work. Still, the representatives ordered all classes to continue inspecting Van Meteren's edition.[127]

The controversy surrounding the publication of Van Meteren's book demonstrates that authorities attached importance to the history of their brand new state but that they also found it threatening. There was no officially prescribed way of recounting the tale of the Revolt. Confrontations, arising when the story was not accepted by authorities, powerful individuals or interest groups (such as the Reformed Church), exposed the rules of the game. In 1614, a new edition appeared after Van Meteren's death and only after careful review by a committee appointed by the States General for the express purpose of revising the text.[128] The 1614 edition was even offered to all delegates in the assembly 'at the

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J.B. Wolters, 1894), p. 223: 'veele onwaerheden [...] die grootelicx tot nadeel ende beswaringhe der Gereformeerde Kercken strecken'.

123 Ibid.: 'verscheyden fouten aenwijsen ende versoecken zal, dat hij die in syne Chronijcke selve betere'.

124 Ibid.: 'soo sal door de ghedeputeerde een sekere waerschouwinghe teghen zijne voorsz. Chronijcke'.

125 Ibid., p. 233: 'om aen te teyckenen alle historische memorien belangende de saken der kercken in dese landen, om deselve over te senden aen D.D. Paulum Merulam, opdat hij, een warachtigh bericht der saken hebbende, daerna sich beter moge regulieren in syne Neerlantsche historien welcke hy schrijft wt last der Staten-Generael'.

126 Ibid., p. 245.

127 Ibid., p. 266.

128 L. Brummel, 'Emanuel van Meteren als historicus', in: P.A.M. Geurts and A.E.M. Janssen, eds., *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland. Studies over de historiografie van de Nieuwe Tijd. Deel 1: Geschiedschrijvers* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 15–18.

cost of the Generality.'[129] Van Meteren's revised history now enjoyed official endorsement and was apparently so appreciated by the government that the authorities encouraged delegates from all provinces of the United Provinces to take notice of its contents.

Conclusion

It is ironic that while Habsburg attempts at centralisation led to the break-up of the Low Countries, popular opposition to increasing centralisation resulted in the invention of a new sense of Netherlandish identity. When William of Orange and his adherents propagated resistance to 'Spanish' rule they explicitly implored all Netherlanders to combine forces, devising an elastic rhetorical strategy in which several, often overlapping, resistance movements could be accommodated. These movements included the opposition to Habsburg centralisation, Protestant resistance to Catholicism, and campaigns against religious persecution.[130] During the first decades of the Revolt propagandists invited Netherlanders to look at their patria not only as a local or provincial fact but also as a supraregional or *national* phenomenon. No longer were they bound together in a merely personal union, that is, by a shared overlord; they were bound together by a shared and subversive political agenda. This shared political agenda, however, could not easily draw on historical arguments. Since the Revolt broke out for the preservation of local privileges, supralocal history was not the most useful frame of reference.

In the Southern Netherlands, the regime ordered inhabitants to forget the Revolt. There it became highly problematic to refer to the past challenges to Habsburg authority. Still, the result of these policies of oblivion was that the Habsburg regime and its subjects could develop quite a coherent and fundamental vision of what had caused the conflict. An over-ambitious as well as greedy nobility along with (foreign) heretics were blamed for the unrest. The advantage of this approach was that it absolved all the other subjects and enabled them to reconcile with the regime.

National histories like those published by Florentius van der Haer in the South and Emanuel van Meteren in the North cannot, however, sufficiently explain the rise of two distinctive popular interpretations of the Revolt. These two historians, like other contemporary colleagues, tried to provide an exhaustive and relatively impartial coverage of the rebellion against Philip II.

129 *Archief voor kerkelijke en wereldsche geschiedenissen, inzonderheid van Utrecht* VI, edited by J.J. Dodt van Flensburg (Utrecht: s.n., 1846), p. 360.

130 Van der Essen, 'De historische gebondenheid', p. 169.

They aimed too directly at an elite audience to make a deep impact on the public memory of the Revolt.[131] Although these general histories could be very different in terms of structure and coverage, they were too comprehensive to serve as the primary engines behind historical canon formation. Many authors from North and South used history books like those of Van Meteren and Van der Haer as important works of reference but mainly because, as rich supplies of historical information, the publications could bolster a great variety of different political arguments.[132] In trying to account for the emergence of two relatively coherent popular narratives about the Revolt in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, it is thus necessary to examine a wider selection of textual and material evidence.

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131 They were part of regent book collections, see for example the library of Zeeland regent D. Guilielmi, who owned copies of the histories of Bor, Van Meteren, Grotius and Hooft: Schama, *The Embarassment*, p. 618; scholar Nicolaas Heinsius owned copies of Bor and Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn among other historical works: *Bibliotheca Heinsiana sive Catalogvs librorum, quos* [...] *collegit* [...] *Nicolaus Heinsius, Dan. fil.* (Leiden: Johannes du Vivé, 1682), pp. 248–259; for the Southern Netherlands, see: Scheelings, 'De geschiedschrijving', pp. 170–171.

132 Verschaffel, *De hoed en de hond*, pp. 131–132.

CHAPTER 2

Two Historical Canons

In *The Freedom of the Netherlands and the Churches: on Spain and Rome's Tyranny* [*Der Neerder-Landen ende kerken vriheidt: van Spanjens ende Roomens hoogher tirannij-heidt*] (1610), published in The Hague in the Dutch Republic, the anonymous author dealt with the Revolt from 1566 to 1609. In just six pages, he strung together a very limited number of episodes, starting with the persecution of heretics in the Low Countries in the 1550s and '60s. The author pointed to the nobility's 1566 petition to Margaret of Parma asking for moderation of the religious persecutions as the beginning of the Revolt. Subsequently, he covered the Iconoclastic Furies (1566–1567), the execution of the counts of Egmont and Horne (1568), and the duke of Alba's governorship (1567–1573). After these initial episodes, the author continued with the atrocities committed by Spanish soldiers in many Netherlandish cities from 1572 onwards.[1] The choice of episodes in this simplified historical narrative was far from unique. Similar sequences of episodes recurred in various Dutch media in the first decades of the seventeenth century (see Figure 4).[2]

Romein and Schama have noted that political propagandists used a fixed 'parade of readily recognisable events' in a variety of media and for a gamut of reasons to remind Netherlanders that their fight for independence from Spain had been a great challenge.[3] However, writing before memory studies had made its way in the field of early modern history, Romein and Schama did not ask how that parade had come about and why this limited selection of episodes continued to circulate in so many different media. The implicit explanation is rather straightforward; important events were remembered, less important ones forgotten. Still, as this chapter will show, this does not tell the whole story. Historians who attribute the persistence of widely known historical events to their historical significance commit the fallacy of circular reasoning. We need to ask why some episodes were considered historically significant

1 Anonymous, *Der Neerder-Landen ende kerken vriheidt: van Spanjens ende Roomens hoogher tirannij-heidt* (The Hague: Johannes Plaat, 1610).

2 Jasper van der Steen, 'Goed en fout in de Nederlandse Opstand', *Holland Historisch Tijdschrift* 43:2 (2011), pp. 82–87; see also: Daniel Horst, *De opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse opstand (1566–1584)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), pp. 27–36.

3 Romein, 'Spieghel Historiael', pp. 11–13; Schama, *The Embarrassment*, p. 86. The citation is from Schama.

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FIGURE 4 *Display of the War of Nassau (1625), Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-81.112A. This print illustrates the episodic narrative about the Revolt. The first scene in the top left corner depicts the duke of Alba with his Council of Troubles. In the background, an executioner decapitates the counts of Egmont and Horne. The next medallion features the leader of the Revolt, William of Orange, sitting proudly with his staff of office. Subsequently, the Lords States General are represented on a hill, behind which an illegal hedge preaching is going on. Mid-level, William of Orange lies in state; his two sons, Maurice and Frederick Henry, are presented in the middle of the picture. The final scene on this level is a congregation of the Republic's enemies, a varied group of princes including Philip II of Spain's successors Albert and Isabella and army commander Alexander Farnese, together with high clerics: cardinals, bishops and Jesuits. The lower level is dedicated to the death of Prince Maurice. He also lies in state, people from the East and West Indies pay homage, and the States General welcome Maurice's successor, Frederick Henry.*

and when and why this happened. For this purpose, the comparison between North and South is particularly important. Alexander Farnese's capture of rebel cities, notably in Flanders and Brabant, during the first half of the 1580s separated the Northern and Southern Netherlands. As the South reconciled with Philip II, and the North continued to rebel, public memories of the Revolt diverged. The rebellion against their overlord was not simply interpreted differently: in the Habsburg Netherlands it became difficult to discuss the conflict

at all. The divergence of Northern and Southern practices of memory reveals that there was no timeless quality that rendered some episodes important and others not.

Aleida Assmann has convincingly argued that deliberate efforts are required for communities to keep alive the memory of a particular episode from the past. She writes that 'if we concede that forgetting is the normality of personal and cultural life, then remembering is the exception, which—especially in the cultural sphere—requires special and costly precautions.'[4] In 1616, clergyman Willem Baudartius (1565–1640), a Calvinist minister and exiled Southerner, made a similar observation and also acknowledged the necessity of precautions against forgetting. He noted that to prevent heroes from becoming the victims of the 'immortal and all-devouring sharp teeth of time and spite', they must be eternalised in writing.[5] To argue his case, he mentioned the ancient pyramids in Egypt. Although a pyramid was an impressive edifice, for the casual viewer it no longer called to mind specific Egyptian pharaohs. The same could be said about the ancient statues of Greek and Roman army commanders and senators, Baudartius explained. The monuments might still have been standing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but no one knew to whose memory they were once erected, just as the names of the months July and August told us nothing about the persons of Julius Caesar and Augustus. The lesson, according to Baudartius, was that only by writing their own memoirs or having someone else consecrate 'their names and deeds in the temple of the goddess of memory' could people prevent their fall into oblivion.[6] Here, Baudartius attributed a central role to written sources, notably historiography, for the preservation of memory. Yet, preserving memories of the past was more complicated than Baudartius made it seem. Writing a learned history about an event did not ensure that it would still be remembered fifty years later; nor was historiography the only way of engaging with the past. For cultural memories to survive they had to be circulated regularly by individuals. Otherwise they could well meet the same fate as the forgotten Egyptian pharaohs or the Roman senators. 'Without such actualizations', argues Astrid Erll, in line with

4 Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', p. 98.

5 Willem Baudartius, *Afbeeldinghe, ende beschrijvinghe van alle de veld-slagen, belegeringen, ende and're notable geschiedenissen, ghevallen in de Nederlanden, geduerende d'oorloghe teghens den coningh van Spaengien* or *De Nassausche oorloghen* (Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1616), preface: 'de onsterfflijcke ende des al verslindenden tijts ende nijts scherpe tanden'.

6 Ibid., preface: 'die hare namen ende daden in den Tempel van de Godinnne Memorie hebben gheconsacreert'.

Assmann's point cited above, 'monuments, rituals, and books are nothing but dead material, failing to have any impact in societies.'[7]

Building on the work of Schama, Assmann, and Erll, this chapter will explain how the political rift between the North and South was followed by at least two diametrically opposed readings of the past that acquired canonical status. It explores how these narratives diverged and what processes can account for this development. First, I will look at popular perceptions of the Revolt in the Dutch Republic, where the rebellion against the dynastic overlord was continued successfully. Secondly, I will compare Northern public memories of the Revolt to the situation in the Southern Netherlands, which had gradually returned under the authority of the Habsburg dynasty. Finally, I will show how Southerners perceived the Northern 'celebration' of the past and argue that disagreements about what had caused the rebellion in turn contributed to a cultural rift between the two polities.

A History Craze in the North

When Simon Schama noted that a sequence of canonical episodes about the Revolt developed in the Dutch Republic, he assumed this to be a self-explanatory and fairly uncomplicated phenomenon in a state born out of rebellion. Yet, there is little that is self-evident about the way that the rebels used the past in support of their political agenda. Chapter 1 has shown that, in accounting for the rupture that was the Revolt, rebels could not simply adopt traditional dynastic or religious narratives. They claimed to fight for the preservation of old privileges, but these were by definition local and varied by region. Nor was religion such a useful frame of reference because the inhabitants of the Republic were deeply divided over religion. Finally, the federal character of the Union was a complicating factor. Unlike in the Habsburg Netherlands, there was no national government in the Republic that actively tried to manipulate public memories of the past. We have already seen that the States General did very little for about three decades: they rarely commissioned monuments or sponsored historiography.

Despite the absence of a central government bureaucracy, princely court or official state church,[8] a popular 'national' canon did emerge in the United Provinces. Rather than being propagated by church and government authorities, it was the result of a public debate about war and peace. In 1609, Spain

7 Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies', p. 5.

8 The Reformed Church had the status of public church.

FIGURE 5 *Allegory of the Deceptive Peace Proposals in 1598* (*1598*), *Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-80.731.*

and the Dutch Republic signed a Twelve Years' Truce. The States General proclaimed a day of thanksgiving, to be held on 6 May, to celebrate this ceasefire 'after such a long, incessant and bloody civil war of forty years'.[9] A clergyman of the Dom in Utrecht, Henricus Caesarius, answered the States General's call and preached in celebration of the Truce, starting off with some verses of psalm 147:

> Praise the Lord, O Ierusalem: praise thy God, O Zion. For hee hath strengthened the barres of thy gates: hee hath blessed thy children within thee. He maketh peace in thy borders: and filleth thee with the finest of the wheate.[10]

9 N.C. Kist, ed., *Neêrland's bededagen en biddagsbrieven. Eenige bijdrage ter opbouwing der geschiedenis van staat en kerk in Nederland* 11 (Leiden: S. and J. Luchtmans, 1849), p. 101: 'naer eene so langduerige gestadige bloedighe Inlandtsche oirloghe van Veertich jaeren'.

10 Henricus Caesarius, *Danck sermoon, Over het teghenwoordighe gemaeckte bestant van twaelf Jaeren / wt de handelinghen der Apostelen / Cap. 9. Vers. 31. tot Godts lof ende eere / Mitsgaeders Tot stichtinghe van allen staten der menschen int gemeyn, ende int bysonder van allen Herders, Opsienders der Kercke, Overheyden, hooch ende leech, oock mede d'Onderdanen van dien: hoe zy allen geduerende den tijt van dit bestand, ende altijt, een yegelijck int sijne respectivelijck hen stichtelijck behoort te dragen* (Utrecht: Jan à Meliszoon, 1609), f. aır: 'Pryst Jerusalem den Heere: Looft Zion uwen Godt. Want hy maket vaste de grendelen uwer poorten, ende segent uwe kinderen daer binnen: Hy schaffet uwen lantpalen vrede, ende versadicht met der bester tarwen'; see for the English translation: *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall*

Caesarius thanked God 'that he has brought us so wonderfully out of such a long, bloody, and civil war and battle and into the current truce, against all people's hopes and expectations, hoping thus to reach a godly, honest and sure peace.'[11] When he published his sermon that same year, in the introduction, which he dedicated to his native city of Zaltbommel, Caesarius looked back on forty years of war and notably to the troubles that had pestered the town: 'What trouble, destruction, siege and bloodshed [...] your city of Zaltbommel has suffered from the beginning, first anno 1574, during which siege that same year my only brother and other brave burghers valiantly lost their lives for the city.'[12] Caesarius briefly summarised the history of the Revolt and interspersed it with his own personal history both to remind people how the war had begun and to magnify the joys of peace. He combined a brief account of the remonstrance to Margaret of Parma in 1566, the government of the duke of Alba and the capture of Brill in 1572 with his own enthusiasm for the preachings held by the Reformed clergyman Johannes Ceporinus [Jan van Venray], which had led him to abandon his Catholic faith.[13] Caesarius' published sermon beautifully exemplifies how one person could combine personal, local and national memories about the Revolt as foundation narrative for the new Republic.

In 1609, some people felt as celebratory as Caesarius. Bonfires, government proclamations of thanksgiving, bell-ringing, blazing tar barrels, celebratory sermons, commemorative prints and medals demonstrated public relief about the laying down of arms in many cities in the Low Countries.[14] But these spec-

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Tongues: and with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised, by his Maiesties speciall Commandement (London: Robert Barker, 1611), 147:12–14.

11 Ibid., p. 34: 'dat hy ons wt so eene langduerige / bloedige / ende inlandsche crijch ende oorlogh tot dit tegenwoordich bestant / tegens alle menschen hope ende verwachtinge soo wonderlijck gebracht heeft / op hope van te geraken hier door / tot eene godlijcke / eerlijcke / ende versekerde vrede.'

12 Ibid., f. *2r: 'Wat overlast / verwoestinge / belegeringe / ende bloetstortinge [...] uwe Stadt van Zalt-bommel van beghinsel aen heeft gheleden / eerstelijck Anno 1574. In wiens belech in t'selve Jaer mijnen eenigen Broeder met meer andere vrome borgers zijn bloet ende leven voor de stadt valiantlijck gelaten heeft'.

13 Ibid., ff. *3r–v.

14 See for more celebratory practices: anonymous, *Vercondinge van het Bestandt / tusschen Sijne Majesteyt / ende hunne Doorluchtichste Hoocheden ter eenre / ende de Staten Generael vande Vereenichde Nederlanden ter andere zijden. Ghedaen voor den stadt-huyse der Stadt van Antwerpen, den 4 April, Anno 1609* (Antwerp: Abraham Verhoeven, 1609); Adriaan van Nierop, *Christelicke gedichten ghemaeckt tot lof van t'bestandt ende vrede. Mitsgaders een echo ofte weder-galm / op't bestandt ende vrede* (1609), Knuttel 1620; Anonymous, *Een*

tacles could not disguise the fact that many in the Dutch Republic distrusted the Spanish motives for agreeing to a ceasefire or opposed for other reasons efforts to forge a lasting peace. Opponents of peace argued that Spanish rulers were unreliable, and they appealed to the public memory of the Revolt to strengthen their message.[15] In 1598, the governor of the Netherlands, Archduke Albert,—who would a short while later become sovereign of the Low Countries—made propositions for peace to the States General of the Dutch Republic. One opponent of peace produced a propagandistic print (Figure 5), depicting a Spanish Jesuit holding out an olive branch to a 'Hollander', who utters: ''Tis all deceit'.[16] The artist increased the persuasiveness of his argument with stories that reminded the audience of Spanish deception and cruelty. On the left hand we see Anneke Uyttenhove, an Anabaptist buried alive in Brussels, just a year earlier. Although hers was effectively the last such religious execution in the South, far into the seventeenth century Northern pamphleteers still exploited this event to demonstrate the continued Habsburg persecution of Protestants.[17] The top left corner emblematises the duke of Alba's tyranny and the top right hand corner depicts the Spanish peace offers in 1588 to Elizabeth I with the caption: 'While they offered her majesty peace, the Armada came', referring to the bad-faith propositions and the attempted invasion of England by the Spanish Armada.[18] The maker of this print deployed references from the recent past to demonstrate that the Spanish should not be trusted in the peace negotiations.

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cort verhael ende afbeeldinge van de heerlicke triumphe ende vieringe die tot Antwerpen geschiet is over het afleggen vanden Treves (s.l.: s.n., 1609); George Sanders, *Het present van staat. De gouden ketens, kettingen en medailles verleend door de Staten-Generaal, 1588–1795* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), pp. 338–339.

15 Judith Pollmann, '"Brabanters do Fairly Resemble Spaniards after all". Memory, Propaganda and Identity in the Twelve Years' Truce', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 218–225.

16 Anonymous, Allegorie op de bedrieglijke vredesvoorstellen in 1598 (1598), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-80.731: 'T'his doch al bedroch'; this print was used as the frontispiece for the pamphlet: anonymous, *Copie van seker refereyn by de overheerde Nederlantsche Provintien aen Hollant gheschreven, beroerende den vrede* (Amsterdam: Laurens Jacobsz, 1598).

17 See for example: anonymous, *De Spaensche tiranye gheschiet in Nederlant* (Amsterdam: Jacob Pietersz Wachter, 1641), pp. 91–92.

18 Anonymous, Allegorie op de bedrieglijke vredesvoorstellen in 1598 (1598), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-80.731: 'Doenmen hare M^{t} paijs aenboot quam de Spaensche vloot'.

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) explained in his history of the Revolt, which was published after his death in 1657 but written in the first half of the seventeenth century, that during the negotiations in 1606, 'in the United Provinces, few durst hope for peace but rather most fear'd it, being so instructed from their parents, that all treaties with a deceitful enemy were to be shunned.'[19] Grotius continued to describe the opposition of particular groups in society. A 'great number of men', he wrote, 'souldiers as the rest of the common people, were advantaged by arms, engines, armies, and fleets'.[20] This included Stadholder Maurice whose income and prestige derived from the war. 'Nor was it feared by a few', Grotius continued, that 'now at the restoring of peace, Antwerp should be chosen as the most commodious seat for merchandise and traffick'.[21] Ever since the fall of Antwerp in 1585, skilled South Netherlandish labourers and merchants had settled in North Netherlandish cities, so contributing to the economic boom in the Dutch Republic, notably Amsterdam.[22] Finally, Grotius (probably with some benefit of hindsight) argued that 'when all fear of the enemy should be taken away, the dissentions of cities, and other disturbances of the commonwealth were dreaded'.[23] In addition to the opposition groups Grotius listed, there were those with vested interests in the Dutch West India Company (WIC), the proposed establishment of which Spain opposed. The anti-peace faction also included exiles from the Southern Netherlands, who argued that continuing the war against Spain was the only viable way to protect the Republic's hard-won independence, the freedom of conscience and the privileged position of the Reformed Church.[24] Many of these exiles still hoped that the rebels would ultimately conquer their native land and enable them to return. The efforts of this varied assortment of interest groups would find little support if people trusted the Spaniards to uphold the articles of a

19 Hugo Grotius, *Annales et Historiae de Rebus Belgicis* (Amsterdam: Joannis Blaeu, 1657), p. 501: 'at Foederatas apud gentes pauci sperare otium audebant, metuebant quin idipsum plerique, ita a parentibus eruditis, repudianda infido cum hoste colloquia'; the English translations are from the English edition: Hugo Grotius, *De Rebus Belgicis: Or, the Annals, and history of the Low-Countrey-Wars* (London: Henry Twyford and Robert Paulet, 1665).

20 Grotius, *Annales et Historiae*, p. 501: 'magnae hominum multitudini haud militum modo, sed & reliquae plebis, arma, machinae, exercitus, classes quaestui erant.'

21 Ibid., p. 501: 'nec paucis formidatum [. . .] nunc reddita pace, Antverpiae commodissimam sedem mercatura deligeret'.

22 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 308–311.

23 Grotius, *Annales et Historiae*, p. 501: 'amoto ab hoste metu, civitatum dissidia ac turbamente reipublicae timebantur'.

24 Johannes Müller, 'Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt: The Narrated Diaspora, 1550–1750' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Leiden University), pp. 82–85.

potential peace. The stock phrase was, therefore, that the Spanish had a track record of not keeping their word and that they could not be trusted.[25]

During the Truce anti-peace propagandists continued their opposition. More than before 1609, Northern authors used political appeals to the past to lend weight to their arguments. In 1610, Willem Baudartius, mentioned briefly at the beginning of this chapter, wrote an influential anti-peace tract entitled the *Wake-up Call* [*Morghen-wecker*] that he addressed to the States General, the Council of State and to the population of the Dutch Republic in general. He remarked that despite the great cruelties committed by the Spanish enemy, 'one sees and observes that many people in the passage of time, yes every day more and more, seem to be falling in a deep sleep of forgetfulness: some no longer know much about what has passed in these Netherlands for the last forty years'.[26] To remedy this collective amnesia Baudartius wrote a popular history in the form of a dialogue between a 'Free Netherlander' and a 'Hispanicised Netherlander'. The Free Netherlander argued that

> never Phalaris, Nero, Herod, Pharaoh, Diocletian, Julian the Apostate or any other cruel tyrant has more disgracefully sought or tried to subvert his subjects, exterminate them and wipe them out, as the king of Spain and his deputies have done now for many years, inspired and incited

25 Jacobus Viverius, *Den spieghel van de Spaensche tyrannie: waer by ghevoeght is eene vreughdighe vieringhe over het veroveren van de stede Rijn-berck* (Amsterdam: Herman de Buck, 1601); anonymous, *Toetsteen, waer aen men waerlick beproeuen mach, hoe valsch ende ongefondeert, dat zijn de leugenachtighe calumnieuse libellen* [...] *die door eenige Spaensche oft Iesuits gesinde, in Brabant, Vlaenderen oft elders versiert, ende alhier in onse landen gestroyt, ende in druck ouer ghesonden werden* (s.l.: s.n., 1603); [Willem Verheiden], *Oratie, of vvtspraecke van het recht der Nederlandsche oorloge tegen Philippum coning van Spaengien* (Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1608); Justus Lipsius, *Ivsti Lipsii sent-brief, in welcke hy antwoorde gheeft aen een seker groot heer, op de vraghe, welck van dryen den coning van Hispaengien best gheraden ware, oorloghe oft peys, oft liever bestant met den Fransman, Engelsche ende Hollander* (Dusseldorp: Wenar vander Horst, 1608); see also: Ronnie Kaper, *Pamfletten over oorlog of vrede: reakties van tijdgenoten op de vredesonderhandelingen van 1607–1609* (Amsterdam: Historisch Seminarium, 1980), pp. 20–25.

26 Willem Baudartius, *Morghen-wecker der vrye Nederlantsche Provintien. Ofte / een cort verhael van de bloedighe vervolginghen ende wreetheden door de Spaenjaerden ende hare Adherenten inde Nederlanden / gheduerende dese veertich-jarighe Troublen ende Oorloghen begaen aen vele Steden / ende ettelijcke duysent particuliere Personen* (Danswick: Crijn Vermeulen de Jonge, 1610), f. 2r: 'soo siet ende bevindtmen, dat veele Menschen met der tijdt, jae alle daghe meer ende meer als in eenen diepen slaep der verghetenheydt zijn vallende: eenighe en weten niet veel meer van alles datter dese naeste 40. Jaren hier in Nederland gepasseert is'.

> by the accursed papal inquisition-chamber, in which already from the time of Emperor Charles V numerous placards have been crafted due to which in the reign of this emperor fifty thousand people were beheaded, drowned, hung, buried alive, burnt and killed in other ways.[27]

Baudartius subsequently enumerated in grim detail the misdeeds and dishonourable acts that Spanish soldiers and their rulers had committed during the first decades of the Revolt. The Free Netherlander described, for example, how during Alba's governorship, Spanish soldiers had killed 130 innocent citizens in Brussels, 'only out of malice'.[28] In Tournai, during a fight between the garrisons of the town and the castle, Spanish soldiers had shouted 'Spania, Spania' and killed many harmless burghers. The Hispanicised Netherlander responded with shock to these horror stories: 'These are truly very horrible and ugly pieces of work; when I hear of them my blood runs cold'.[29] Despite the fact that he was a Reformed clergyman, Baudartius time and again emphasised the contrast between evil Spanish and good Netherlandish values rather than offering a religious justification for the rebellion.

A few years after publication of Baudartius' history, a revised edition came on the market as a children's book, the *Mirror of Youth* [*Spieghel der ievght*], which remained popular throughout the Low Countries far into the eighteenth century. The editor of this work addressed it to 'the schoolmasters of these Free Netherlands', and Reformed schoolmasters indeed seem to have read it and used it at school.[30] In 1630, schoolmaster Johannes de Swaef wrote enthusiasti-

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27 Ibid., ff. a1r–v: 'noyt Phalaris, Nero, Herodes, Pharao, Diocletianus, Iulianus, Apostata, of eenigen anderen wreeden Tyran schandelicker heeft ghesocht ofte ghetracht zyne onder-saten te verdrucken, te verdelghen, ende uyt te roeden, als de Coninck van Hispanien ende zyne Stad-houders nu etlijcke Jaren lanck gedaen hebben, door ingeven ende aenporren der vervloecte Pauselijcke Inquisiti-Camer, in dewelcke, al ten tyde des Keysers Caroli v. vele bloedighe Placcaerten ghesmeet zijn, uyt cracht van de welcke ten tyde dese Keysers boven de vijftich duysent menschen sijn onthalft, verdroncken, gehanghen, levendich in d'aerde gedolven, verbrant, ende met andere manieren van het leven berooft'.

28 Ibid., f. c3v: 'uyt enckel moet-wille'.

29 Ibid., f. c4r: 'Dit zijn voorwaer seer grouwelijcke ende leelijcke stucken, het bloedt verandert my dat ickse hoore vertellen.'

30 [J. Bouillet], *Spieghel der ievght ofte Korte kronijck der Nederlantsche geschiedenissen, . . . gheduerende dese veertigh-jarighe oorloge* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1614), f. a1v; Willem Baudartius wrote in his autobiography that his *Morghen-wecker* had been edited 'and entitled: Mirror of youth, reprinted several times; also translated into French and printed with the title Miroir de la jeunesse' ('genoemt geworden: Spiegel der jeucht, meermaels

cally about the *Mirror of Youth* and there is quite some evidence that the *Mirror* was used at schools for teaching purposes, replacing or complementing the excerpts from the *Divisiekroniek* (1517) that schoolmasters also used to impart some historical awareness to their pupils.[31] The *Mirror* also provided amusing reading material that complemented the alphabet books which generally included only texts such as the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Confession.[32] The only detailed study of Dutch regional school curricula has shown that the 1650 book list appended to the city of Utrecht's school order of 1631 prescribed the *Mirror* as educational reading material.[33] In 1655, the classis of Utrecht proposed to the synod that the *Mirror* should be used at schools.[34] Elsewhere, too, we have signs that the text was prescribed reading material. In the city of Culemborg, schoolmasters were instructed in a placard of 9 August 1663 to use a selection of books in their lessons, including the *Mirror*.[35] David Beck, a schoolmaster in The Hague, wrote in his diary in 1624 that he also read the original edition of the *Wake-up Call*.[36]

After the publication of Baudartius' *Wake-up Call* and its adaptation designed for children, these simplified historical narratives became rather popular. In the 1610s more historians began publishing popular histories of the Revolt. A historiographer employed by the States of Holland and the States of Utrecht, Pieter Bor, reworked his history *The Origins, Beginning and Commencement of the Netherlandish Wars* [*Oorspronck, begin ende aenvang der Nederlantscher*

herdruckt; oock int Frans getranslateert ende gedruckt met den titel van Miroir de la jeunesse'), in: P.C. Molhuysen, ed., 'Leven van Willem Baudaert door hem zelven beschreven', *Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap* 5 (1849), p. 247; see also: Wolfgang Cilleßen, 'Der Spiegel der jeugd. Ein Kinderbuch als Medium der Geschichtserinnerung in den Niederlanden (1614–1813)', in: H. Peterse, ed., *Süß scheint der krieg den Unerfahrenen. Das Bild vom Krieg und die Utopie des Friedens in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2004), pp. 51–53.

31 E.P. de Booy, *De weldaet der scholen. Het plattelandsonderwijs in de provincie Utrecht van 1580 tot het begin der negentiende eeuw* (Utrecht: s.n., 1977), p. 60.

32 Simon Groenveld, J.J.H. Dekker and Th.R.M. Willemse, *Wezen en boefjes. Zes eeuwen zorg in wees- en kinderhuizen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p. 195.

33 De Booy, *De weldaet der scholen*, p. 269.

34 Ibid., p. 270.

35 A.W.K. Voet van Oudheusden, *Historische beschryvinge van Culemborg. Behelzende een naemlyst der heeren van Bosichem, benevens der heeren en graeven van Culemborg . . . derzelver huwelyken, nakooomelingen . . . Mitsgaders een beschryvinge van de stad Culemborg, derzelver regeeringwyze, gebouwen . . . handvesten, privilegien en voorrechten, enz.* (Utrecht: J.H. Vonk van Lynden, 1753), p. 302.

36 David Beck, *Spiegel van mijn leven. Een Haags dagboek uit 1624*, edited by S.E. Veldhuijzen, (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), p. 176.

oorlogen], at this time still a work in progress, into a much abridged edition to entertain his readers and refresh their memory of the Revolt.[37] The target audience were women and children who, according to Bor, were 'generally unwilling to torment themselves by too much reading, but who still enjoy possessing knowledge of all sorts of things.'[38] Similarly, Johannes Gysius—just like Baudartius an exiled clergyman from the Southern Netherlands—observed in 1616 that 'there are still numerous old people who have witnessed these miseries, who have all seen this malice and inhuman cruelty, and some of whom even experienced it for themselves'.[39] He continued that

> since these old people are dying on a daily basis, and that it is nevertheless useful that these miseries and Spanish cruelties remain fresh in the memory of us Netherlanders [...] I have considered it expedient [...] to compile a small sample of these Spanish tyrannies, committed in the Netherlands.[40]

Drawing on more comprehensive histories such as Van Meteren's, which was often cited specifically among their sources, the initial purpose of the authors of these popularisations of history was to convince the general public that the calm and peace of the Twelve Years' Truce were deceptive. They deployed the history of the Revolt to persuade people that Spaniards would eventually start to bring the Netherlands once again under their tyrannical rule.[41] In the *Mirror*

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37 Pieter Christiaensz Bor, *Den oorspronck, begin ende aenvanck der Nederlandtscher oorlogen, geduyrende de regeringe van de Hertoginne van Parma, de Hertoge van Alba, ende eensdeels vanden groot Commandeur / beschreven door Pieter Bor Chistiaenszoon, ende nu deur denselven in liedekens vervaet* (Leiden: Govert Basson, 1616), f. 4r.

38 Bor, *Den oorspronck*, f. 3v: 'dewelcke meestendeels het hooft ende sinnen ongeerne met veel lesens quellen, ende nochtans wel geerne van alles wetenschap souden begeeren te hebben'.

39 Gysius, *De Oorsprong en Voortgang*, f. *4r: 'Daer zijn noch verscheydene oude luyden / die alle dese ellendicheden beleeft hebben / die alle dese moet-wille ende onmenschelicke wreedtheydt ghesien ende sommige oock ten deele beproeft hebben'.

40 Ibid., f *4r: 'Dan overmidt dese oude luyden daghelijcx versterven / ende het nochtans seer dienstich is / dat dese ellendicheden ende Spaensche wreedtheden by ons Nederlanders altijdt in verscher ghedachtenisse moghen blijven [...] soo hebbe ick tot dien eynde raedsaem geacht [...] een cleyn proeff-stuck van dese Spaenschen tyrannien ende wreetheden / inde Nederlanden bedreven / t'samen te stellen'.

41 Mieke Smits-Veldt, '"Het vaderland" bij Hollandse rederijkers, circa 1580–1625. Grondgebied en identiteit', in: Niek van Sas, ed., *Vaderland. Een geschiedenis vanaf de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999); Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden*.

of Youth, a father tells his son of the cruelties committed by the enemy. As in the *Wake-up Call*, this classical format of the dialogue enabled the author to create the appearance of an open-ended and frank exchange of thoughts and ideas while in fact the outcome of the discussion was already decided. One of the two conversation partners—in this case the son—acted as a straw man.[42] Before beginning his history lesson the father emphasised that:

> Unworthy is he to be born and called a Netherlander, who writes these histories into the book of oblivion. Unworthy is he of being called a true patriot, who does not impress these things upon the minds of his children, yes just as faithful as the children of Israel were compelled by God's command, in Deuteronomy 6, to reveal to their children the miraculous redemption from Egypt.[43]

Here, the father used the history of the Revolt as a form of patriotic scripture, to borrow Schama's term. This narrative fostered new feelings of a Dutch identity, but it drew on existing stories. The Old Testament served as a useful example for people in the Northern Netherlands: the idea of being, like Israel, a chosen people mobilised Dutch people against Philip II, just as the Jews joined forces in their flight from the tyranny of the Pharaoh.[44] Non-biblical narratives also informed Northern portrayals of the Revolt. K.W. Swart, Judith Pollmann and Benjamin Schmidt have shown that the Black Legend, a story about the cruelty inherent to the Spanish people, 'premediated' the portrayal of Spanish cruelties in the Netherlands.[45] Although these scholars did not use the term 'premediation', it is a useful one to describe the influence of established narratives on the way people told the story of the Revolt. Adopting Erll's definition, premediation occurs when 'existent media which circulate in a given society

42 Clazina Dingemanse, *Rap van tong, scherp van pen. Literaire discussiecultuur in Nederlandse praatjespamfletten* (*circa 1600–1750*) (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008), pp. 27–34.

43 [Bouillet], *Spieghel der ievght*, f. a3r: 'Ontweerdigh is hy een Nederlander gheboren te zijn ende ghenoemt te worden / die dese gheschiedenissen in 't vergheet-boeck stelt. Onweerdigh is hy een ghetrouwe Vader ghenoemt te worden / die dese dinghen sijn kinderen niet in en prent / ja immers so getrouwelijck / als de kinderen Israels schuldigh waren / na Godts bevel Deut. 6. Haren kinderen voor ooghen te stellen die wonderbaarlijcke verlossinghe uyt Egypten-Lant.'

44 Cornelis Huisman, *Neerlands Israël. Het natiebesef der traditioneel-gereformeerden in de achttiende eeuw* (Dordrecht: J.P. van den Tol, 1983), pp. 54–56.

45 Swart, 'The Black Legend'; Pollmann, 'Eine natürliche Feindschaft'; Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, p. 111.

provide schemata for new experience and its representation'.[46] Stories about the Spanish presence in the Americas gained a particularly strong political connotation when authors writing about the Revolt against Philip II began to use, manipulate and forge stories about Spanish cruelties in Europe and the Americas to increase popular aversion to the Habsburg regime.[47]

In the *Mirror*, when the son asked why only the Netherlands had problems with Spanish rule, the father therefore introduced the 'innocent Indians, Americans, Brazilians [and] Peruvians' who had also experienced the Spanish tyranny, thereby both rejecting the idea that the Netherlandish people were at fault and emphasising their innocence.[48] The *Mirror* was not the only popular history of the Revolt to include references to Spanish misdeeds in other parts of the world. Reformed minister Johannes Gysius referred to the Spanish cruelties of 'these last hundred years' in his concise history of the Revolt and particularly mentioned the brutal maltreatment of the Indians by Spaniards.[49] In another popular historical narrative the author posed the rhetorical question: 'Is there anyone unaware of the fact that Spaniards have, in the same way, plagued, oppressed and troubled many other lands and people and continue, sanctimoniously, to use religion to justify her conquests and hide away her tyranny?'[50] Baudartius, Gysius and Bor discussed the massacres of Rotterdam, Mechelen, and Naarden in 1572, and the sieges of Haarlem (1573), Alkmaar (1573) and Leiden (1573–74) in rapid succession, detailing the horrors

46 Astrid Erll, 'Remembering across Time, Space, and Cultures: Premediation, Remediation and the "Indian Mutiny"', in: Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, eds., *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), p. 111; Erll adopted the terminology of premediation and remediation from Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999) and Richard Grusin, 'Premediation', *Criticism* 46:1 (2004), pp. 17–39.

47 Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, pp. 40–42; Marijke Meijer Drees, 'De beeldvorming Nederland-Spanje voor en na de Vrede van Munster', in: Hugo de Schepper, ed., *1648. De Vrede van Münster* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p. 166.

48 *Spieghel der Ievght*, f. a3v: 'onnosele Indianen / Americanen / Brezilianen / Peruvianen'; see also: Baudartius, *Morghen-wecker*, f. 2r; Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, pp. 232–233.

49 Gysius, *Oorsprong en voortgang*, f. 2r.

50 François Vranck, *Wederlegghinghe, van een seker boecxken, uyt ghegheven by Franchois Verhaer, ghenaemt Onpartijdighe verclaringhe der oorsaken vande Nederlantsche oorloghe* (Breda: S. Wylicx, 1618), f. a6v, see also f. e2v: 'Wie en weet niet dat de Spaignaerts op ghelijcken voet veel andere Volckeren ende Landen geplaecht verdruct ende ontrust gemaect hebben / ende noch ten huydighen daghe niet en zijn aflatende onder t'schijn-heylich decksel vande Religie hare conquesten te voorderen ende hare Tyrannije te bedecken?'.

Spanish soldiers inflicted on the local population.[51] In between his coverage of the massacres in 1572 and the siege of Leiden, Willem Baudartius included a short anecdote which the author had probably drawn, directly or indirectly, from the *Brevíssima Relacíon* of Bartolomé de Las Casas, bishop of Chiapas, who strongly condemned Spanish cruelties in the Americas. The Dutch translation of this publication was particularly popular at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[52] When a local Indian chief by the name of Hatuey from the island of Hispaniola tried to organise resistance against the Spanish invaders on Cuba, Spanish conquistadores captured him. Tied to a stake, Hatuey was about to be burnt alive when a Franciscan monk 'began to talk to him of God and of the articles of our faith, telling him, that the small respite which the executioner gave him was sufficient for him to make sure his salvation if he believed.'[53] Hatuey then asked the Franciscan if heaven was open to Spaniards and on the monk's assent declared: 'Let me go to hell that I may not come where they are.'[54] Baudartius retold this story to render more poignant his account of Netherlanders who—rather than surrendering to the Spanish soldiers—kept on fighting.[55] Accounts of Spanish atrocities in the Americas probably also inspired Bor in his description of the sack of Naarden in 1572 in the children's edition of his work (although in later accounts he would be much subtler). 'Vandalising and murdering', he wrote, 'of such a great murder, has never been heard, neither in the South nor in the North.'[56] Bor drew on themes such as the slaughter of women and Spanish soldiers cutting open pregnant women to remove their foetuses, acts of cruelty that he seems to have copied from other

51 *Spieghel der Ievght*, ff. d1v–d3r; Gysius, *Oorsprong en voortgang*, pp. 294–340; Bor, *Den Oorspronck*, pp. 35–77.

52 Bartolemé de Las Casas, *Brevíssima relación de la destruycion de las Indias* (Seville: s.n., 1552); see the Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands (www.stcn.nl) for the Dutch editions of De Las Casas' work.

53 Bartolemé de Las Casas, *The Tears of the Indians: being an Historical and true Account of the Cruel Massacres and Slaughters of above Twenty Millions of innocent People; committed by the Spaniards in the Islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, &c. As also, in the Continent of Mexico, Peru, & other Places of the West-Indies, to the total destruction of those Countries* (London: Nath. Brook, 1656), p. 23.

54 Ibid.

55 Baudartius, *Morghen-wecker*, f. c4v; *Spieghel der Ievght*, f. d2r.

56 Bor, *Den oorspronck*, p. 44: 'Vernielen en vermoorden, Van Sulcke groote moort, En is noyt veel gehoort, In zuyden noch in noorden.'

sources, probably from the prints by Frans Hogenberg as well as the work of Las Casas.[57]

We have seen that authors like Baudartius, Gysius and even Bor developed reduced and simplified narratives about the Revolt that shared some important characteristics. The origin of these stories was war propaganda, they focused not mainly on religion and they contained similar sequences of horrific episodes that drew from established narratives such as the Old Testament and the Black Legend. These 'secular' horror stories about the Revolt were popular in the fledgling Dutch state, where religious plurality and administrative decentralisation obstructed the development of a coherent religious and dynastic reading of the past. The United Provinces were a federal republic, where each province was sovereign and where every enfranchised city could prevent resolutions from being adopted by the States and the States General. There was no real national centre. The Hague was the place where the States General convened, where the States of Holland assembled and where the stadholder often resided, but political power was devolved, and it ultimately resided with the cities and the nobility in the provinces. The traditional early modern European proponents of national unity such as the ruler and the church, being virtually non-existent on a national level in the Dutch Republic, could not accommodate the great variety of political interests and religious beliefs. This was a problem because matters of war and peace *were* decided on the national level. In order to mobilise as many inhabitants as possible against peace, authors thus needed to devise an alternative strategy.

It was not useful to antagonise groups of people when it was also possible to accommodate, at least to some extent, their preferences and convictions in a more inclusive narrative frame. This insight was not original at the beginning of the seventeenth century. After all, William of Orange and his supporters had already been aware that their Revolt needed popular support in order to be successful. Anti-peace propagandists understood this, too, and they 'picked up' the inclusive and non-confessional propaganda of William of Orange and his adherents. Indeed, it is telling that the historical works of Baudartius and Gysius—both hardline Calvinists who had fled the Southern Netherlands for the sake of their Reformed faith—did not rely much on Calvinist doctrine; instead they focused on the sufferings of all the population. For a narrative to

57 Ibid.; Erika Kuijpers, 'The Creation and Development of Social Memories of Traumatic Events. The Oudewater Massacre of 1575', in: Michael Linden and Krzysztof Rutkowski, eds., *Hurting Memories: Remembering as a Pathogenic Process in Individuals and Societies* (London: Elsevier, 2013), pp. 194–195.

'catch on' throughout the Republic, it could not afford to be too radical, and it had to offer not only a simplified narrative but also a relatively inclusive history. This explains the rise of a story about the good, innocent Netherlander against the perverted Spanish enemy.[58] Stories about the recent past as a series of different episodes suited the North Netherlandish situation very well. The sequence allowed different cities and regions in the new federal Republic to be included in narratives about the past.

These authors of politicised history were not the only people who used historical narratives about the Revolt in support of an anti-peace political agenda. Others picked up their narrative. Visual sources such as prints confirm that there was a lively memory culture about the Revolt during and after the Truce. In 1569 during the governorship of the duke of Alba opponents of his policies spread a propagandistic print entitled Alba's Throne.[59] The print featured an allegory that was essentially a reduced history of the Revolt with a slant that could hardly be misunderstood. Alba tramples on portrayals of justice and privileges. Seventeen virgins in chains symbolise the troubled Netherlands. In the background, Egmont and Horne are being executed and one of Alba's helpers, presumably the Cardinal de Granvelle, fishes money and property from a pond of blood. After 1620, as Andrew Sawyer has shown, the theme of Alba's tyranny became popular once again, presumably because the war was resumed in 1621 and because it did not go very well for the Republic in the early 1620s.[60] Printmaker Jan Pietersz van de Venne modified and reproduced the old print, and about twenty paintings of the scene survive.[61] Unfortunately, little is known about who commissioned these works. On the basis of their large sizes, the accompanying explanatory texts, and the variation in the use of heraldic signs, however, Sawyer has concluded that the paintings probably served a public function.[62]

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58 The political value of an inclusive history and the difficulty of defining the true Netherlander in religious terms also explains why it took until 1671 for a comprehensive history of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands to be published: Geeraert Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie, en andre kerkelyke geschiedenissen, in en ontrent de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz, Hendrik en Dirk Boom, 1671–1704).

59 Van Nierop, 'De troon van Alva'.

60 Andrew Sawyer, 'The Tyranny of Alva: The Creation and Development of a Dutch Patriotic Image', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 19:2 (2003), p. 185. This article contains a more elaborate description of the prints.

61 Ibid., p. 181.

62 Ibid., pp. 205–206.

Like Alba's Throne, the Hogenberg prints discussed in the previous chapter spread an image of the Revolt as a series of Spanish cruelties. Although originally intended to convey news, they continued to provide illustration material for historians and interested individuals for over a century. An example of this latter category is the 'Mirror or Image of Netherlandish Histories' ['Spieghel ofte Af-beeldinge der Nederlandtsche geschiedenissen'], a folio of coloured Hogenberg prints, among other prints, assembled in 1613 by Willem Luytsz van Kittensteyn from Delft.[63] Van Kittensteyn relied on Van Meteren's work in his ordering of the prints. He also evaluated the historical accuracy of the scenes depicted. For instance, when he included a print of the assassination of William of Orange in 1584, he added some alternative drawings to correct Hogenberg's mistaken staging of the prince's murder in a hall rather than in the historically more accurate staircase.[64]

In the previous chapter, we have already seen that songs, like prints, were important carriers of news, but they too survived their 'mere' newsworthiness by becoming historical. Beggar songs, for instance, were initially sung in support of the rebels. Already in 1574, the first compilation of Beggar songs was published in a format that publishers reused throughout the seventeenth century.[65] These books were simplified and politicised narratives about the Revolt, and they helped Beggar songs not only to survive but also to remain politically useful.[66] In 1626, the poet Adriaen Valerius published the *Netherlandish Memory-Tune* [*Nederlandtsche gedenck-clanck*], a collection of songs he had

63 Willem Luytsz van Kittensteyn, 'Spieghel ofte Af-beeldinge der Nederlandtsche geschiedenissen, Mitsgaders van Vranckryck. Enghelandt. Duytslandt. en[de] eenige andere Landen: Waer in v[er]toont worden de beginselen der Nederlandsche en[de] Franche troublen Inneminge[n] ende belegeringe[n] van Steden en[de] Fortressen Aflesinge van Pardoene[n] Velt-slagen en[de] Scharmutsingen en[de] Oorlogen ter Zee, &c, tot het besluyten van het Bestant Daer bij sijn gevoegt de ware afbeeldinge van alle Coningen Princen, Gouverneurs, generale en[de] particuliere velt-overste[n] en[de] geleerde[n], met alle penningen, geslagen bij de E.M. Heeren Staten van verscheijden provintien, duijdende den staet van het Landt, Vergadert ende t'samen gevoeght door, Willem Luytsz van Kittensteyn Anno Domini. M.VIc.XIII' (*1613*), Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, inv. 50442.

64 J.C. Nix, 'De Atlas Van Stolk: Een verzameling historieprenten over de vaderlandse geschiedenis', *Ons Erfdeel* 39:2 (1996), p. 236; see also Van Kittensteyn, 'Spieghel', Atlas van Stolk, inv. 50442—258.

65 Louis Peter Grijp, 'Van geuzenlied tot Gedenck-clanck. Eerste deel: Het geuzenliedboek in de Gouden Eeuw', *Zeventiende Eeuw* 10:1 (1994), p. 118.

66 The fact that the South lacked compilations like those in the North may very well explain why fewer songs have survived: Martine de Bruin, 'Geuzen en anti-Geuzenliederen' in: Louis Peter Grijp, ed., *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), pp. 177–178.

written himself and in which the history of the Revolt was embedded.[67] He explained his motivation for bringing this work on the market as follows: 'just like the mirrors are useful to adorn the body, in such a way the examples taken from history are very useful to fashion life'.[68] More specifically, Valerius elaborated on what drove him to publish his work:

> While we are still threatened with several worrisome troubles and terrible attacks by the enemies; all brave supporters and good patriots are incited [...] to heed, in all affairs, the [...] cruel [...] nature of our enemy.[69]

Just like the 1620s paintings on the theme of Alba's Throne, the war inspired Valerius to commemorate the past cruelties of the Spanish. His way of doing so was to write new songs about the conflict.

Oblivion in Practice

The situation in the South was very different. The historian B.A. Vermaseren has noted that while government authorities in the Habsburg Netherlands did make attempts to commission an official Netherlandish history of the Low Countries that would reflect the pro-Spanish and Catholic view of the Revolt, such a book was never published. Humanist scholar Justus Lipsius received an assignment from the States of Brabant to write a history of the Low Countries conflict, but he died in 1606 before he could start work on the project.[70] In 1606, the archdukes appointed Jean-Baptiste Gramaye as court historiographer. Gramaye published a great number of local histories and chorographies in Latin but never a more general history in Dutch or French.[71] In 1612, Petrus Peckius, a

67 Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandtsche gedenck-clanck*, edited by P.J. Meertens, N.B. Tenhaeff en A. Komter-Kuipers (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1942, first published in 1626).

68 Ibid., p. 5: 'Gelyck de spiegelen bequaem gevonden zijn om het lichaem ter degen op te schicken, also syn d'exempelen, uyt de Historien genomen, seer bequaem om het leven te fatsonneren'.

69 Ibid., p. 7: dewyle wy noch gedreygt worden met verscheyden kommerlycke swarigheden, ende vreeselijcke aenstooten der vyanden; so worden alle vrome voorstanders ende goede Patriotten opgescherpt [...] om in alle voorvallende gelegentheden wel indachtig te wesen den [...] wreeden, [...] aerd onses vyands'.

70 Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, pp. 208–209.

71 Take for example the following works by Jean-Baptiste Gramaye: *Gallo-Brabantia* (Brussels: Jan Mommaert, 1606); *Arscotvm dvcatvs cvm svis baronatibvs* (Brussels: Jan Mommaert, 1606); *Historia Brabantica* (Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1606); *Antiquitates*

member of the Great Council of Mechelen who was later to become chancellor of Brabant, wrote to Erycius Puteanus, a colleague of Lipsius, about the desirability of publishing a chronological history of the Netherlands. He specifically stated that Archduke Albert would appreciate such an endeavour as he was keen on reigning over his Low Countries with old as well as new examples as his guide.[72] A year later, on 6 November 1613, Puteanus communicated to his friend Maximilien Pluverius what he imagined a history book should look like. It should be similar to the abridged Roman history by Lucius Annaeus Florus: 'and how useful can this [Puteanus'] work in such a way then be to teach the pupils at school!'[73] He also seems to have thought that he might erase some of the painful historical episodes from the record. A few days later he wrote again with an update on his progress. He communicated that he had begun a general history of the Low Countries and that he was planning on covering the Revolt in a single page, so as not to cause 'ill-will or offence'.[74] Puteanus—who just like Gramaye published local histories and chorographies—did not publish his intended concise national history.[75] He probably never finished his work because, as he remarked, the rebellion against Philip II was a con-

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comitatus Namurcensis libris 7 comprœhensœ, pro ratione totidem prœfecturarum in eo (Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1607); *Antiqvitates illvstrissimi dvcatvs Brabantiæ* (Brussels: Jan Mommaert, 1610); *Antverpiae antiqvitates* (Brussels: Jan Mommaert, 1610); *Ambacta, ad ornatissimos opidorvm et terræ senators* (s.l.: s.n., 1611); *Brvgæ Flandrorvm, sive Primitiæ antiqvitatvm Brvgensivm* (Louvain: Philippus van Dormael, 1611); *Castellania Cortracensis* (s.l.: s.n., 1611); *Aldenarda* (s.l.: s.n., 1612). For his work on Courtrai, the archdukes awarded him 600 livres, see: Jules Finot, 'Les subventions accordées aux Litterateurs, au Savants et aux Artistes par les Gouverneurs des Pays-Bas au XVII^e^ siècle relevées dans les comptes de la recette générale des finances', *Annales du Comité Flamand de France* 19 (1891), p. 177; for an excellent overview of Gramaye's activities, see: Esser, *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 207–223.

72 Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, p. 209; the archduke, for instance, read with much interest the manuscript chronicle of Renon de France: 'Histoire des troubles des Pays-Bas'.

73 Erycius Puteanus to Maximilien Pluverius, 6 November 1613, in: Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, p. 210: 'et quam utiliter huiusmodi opus etiam iuventuti in Scholis proponatur!'.

74 Puteanus to Pluverius, 9 November 1613, in: ibid.: 'ad nupera bella: quae una deinde pagina conclude poterunt, sine invidia aut offense.'

75 See Erycius Puteanus, *Brvxella, incomparabili exemplo septenaria, gripho palladio descripta* (Brussels: Jan Mommaert, 1646); Erycius Puteanus, *Historiæ Belgicæ liber singvlaris, de obsidione Lovaniensi anni M.DC.XXXV* (Antwerp: Jan Cnobbaert, 1636); Puteanus, *Miracles derniers*.

troversial topic and difficult to discuss in public without offending someone. The Habsburg regime spread a religious and dynastic reading of the past, and local authorities did not hesitate to prohibit books that were critical of the government.[76] Authors also seem to have practiced self-censorship. The Benedictine monk and historian Jacobus Lummenaeus à Marca wrote in 1626 to the papal nuncio in Brussels, Jean-François Guidi di Bagno, that during his lifetime Albert had ordered him to write a history of the Revolt. But rather than complying he told the archduke that the subject was too delicate and that he preferred to devote his studies to the Holy Virgin, which indeed he did.[77]

The most important difference between perceptions about the Revolt in the North and in the South is that whereas Northern authors and artists celebrated the conflict, many of their colleagues in the Southern Netherlands emphasised dynastic continuity and the triumph of Catholicism over heresy. They considered the Revolt only as a brief spell of troubles. The rebellion against Philip II in the Southern Netherlands ended in defeat when army commander Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, captured Antwerp in 1585. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Farnese consistently pursued a policy of oblivion so that fights about the past would not be able to jeopardise the fragile restoration of order. He served as governor until 1592, after which three successive governors briefly ran the country. Philip II then resolved on setting up a more permanent government that could deal effectively and in more durable terms with the Netherlandish troubles. He decided to give the Low Countries as a dowry to his daughter Isabella, whom he married off to her cousin Albert of Austria, the newly appointed governor of the Netherlands. At the end of 1597, the king communicated to all provinces his intention of giving the Low Countries to his daughter. The responses he received illustrate the implementation of the Southern policies of oblivion. The States of Brabant replied on 5 December of that year and assured the king that they would keep to 'the same fidelity and devotion that we have at *all* [my italics] times shown just like to his predecessors our natural princes and sovereign lords'.[78] On 23 January 1598, the States

76 Jerome Machiels, *Privilegie, censuur en indexen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tot aan het begin van de 18e eeuw* (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1997), pp. 113–121.

77 Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, p. 214; see: Jacobus Cornelius Lummenaeus à Marca, *Corona Virginae, sive Stellae dvodecim id est, Dvodecim homiliae sacrae* (Ghent: Cornelium Marium, 1618).

78 *Collection de documents inédits concernant l'histoire de la Belgique* I, edited by L.-P. Gachard (Brussels: A. van Dale, 1833), p. 394: 'la mesme fidelité et devotion qu'avons de tout temps monstré par effect à ses devanciers noz princes naturelz et souverains seigneurs.'

of Flanders also declared to do 'all that loyal and obedient subjects owe to their princes and lords, the same love, honour and obedience of our ancestors, and we have *always* [my italics] served your majesty and his very noble predecessor counts and countesses of Flanders.'[79] Here, two of the provinces where fifteen years earlier Calvinism had reigned supreme and where cities had been infested with heresy and treason simply pretended to have a clean slate.

This manipulation of history was possible because both secular and religious authorities could fall back on memory cultures existing long before the Revolt broke out.[80] Soon after 1585, the religious orders, notably the Jesuits, made efforts to revive and reform Catholicism in the Southern Netherlands by setting up sodalities and confraternities that stimulated lay commitment to the Church of Rome.[81] Old Catholic rituals such as processions and *ommegangen*, which had been banned in the Calvinist republics in the South Netherlandish cities, were revived.[82] Programmes of reconstruction restored and enhanced the Catholic landscape in the Southern Netherlands. Luc Duerloo has shown convincingly that the Habsburg dynasty carried out a religious transformation of the Southern Netherlands with particular attention to local tradition by promoting old cults of local saints, by collecting local relics and by restoring damaged church property.[83]

The devotion of the Sacrament of Miracle in Brussels exemplifies how people in the Southern Netherlands were able to reinstate old modes of commemoration. According to the legend, in May 1370 six Jews stole sacred hosts from the St Catherine's Chapel in Sint-Jans-Molenbeek and stabbed them with knives. Miraculously, the hosts began to bleed. The Jews were captured

79 Ibid., p. 397: 'tout ce que fidelz et obeissans subjectz sont redevables à leur princes et seigneurs, du mesme amour, honneur et obeissance que noz ancestres et nous avons tousjours servy vostre Mat[té] et ses tres nobles predecesseurs contes et contesses de Flandres.'

80 See for example: H.J. Elias. *Kerk en Staat in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden onder de regeering der aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella (1598–1621)* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1931), pp. 47–48. Elias demonstrates that the archdukes tried to restore order by reviving old practices of devotion and religious memory, such as Archduke Albert's project of retrieving the remains of St Albert of Leuven who had died in the year 1192, and having them transported to Brussels.

81 Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, pp. 137–153.

82 Calvinist republics were cities in the southern part of the Low Countries where Calvinists had taken over power. Calvinist republics included Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent and Bruges in the period c. 1577–1585.

83 Luc Duerloo, 'Pietas Albertina. Dynastieke vroomheid en herbouw van het vorstelijk gezag', *BMGN* 112:1 (1997), pp. 1–18; see also chapter 3 of this book.

and executed, and the host became one of the most important relics of the Southern Netherlands. In his study of the devotion of the Sacrament of Miracle, Luc Dequeker has demonstrated that memories of this particular event placed the troubled past of the Revolt in a long tradition of Catholicism under threat and served to mobilise Catholic inhabitants against the heretical enemy.[84] The Iconoclastic Furies of 1566 had damaged the relic, and in the period 1579–1585, during which Brussels had been a Calvinist republic, all celebrations of the miracle were forbidden and Catholics brought the relic to safety. Soon after the city's reconciliation with Farnese, the new archbishop of Malines Joannes Hauchin, who had been a fierce critic of the Calvinist regime, in a solemn procession returned the hosts to the St Gudula Church.[85]

A canon of the St Gudula Church, Etienne Ydens, in his seventeenth-century history of the veneration of the Sacrament of Miracle addressed the Infanta Isabella: 'it seems to me not only expedient and profitable, but also very necessary, to commit to writing this so illustrious and admirable work of God, that he has done in your noble town of Brussels, now two hundred and thirty five years ago'.[86] Ydens began his work with some exhortations to Jews and heretics to convert to Catholicism: 'O abominable heretic, and you poor miserable Jew, being in the darkness, quit the vain error that you have plunged into, in the muddy waters of falsehood, and embrace the truth'.[87] After his anti-Semitic account of the miracle of bleeding hosts and the development of its devotional culture, Ydens argued that the continuation of the devotion and the material conservation of the hosts can explain the preservation of Brussels:

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84 Luc Dequeker, *Het Sacrament van Mirakel. Jodenhaat in de Middeleeuwen* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2000), pp. 51–60.

85 Ibid., pp. 59–60; see also: Henri Griffet, *Histoire des hosties miraculeuses, qu'on nomme le tres-saint Sacrament de Miracle, qui se conserve à Bruxelles depuis l'an 1370, et don't on célébrera le Dimanche 16 Juillet 1820, l'année du Jubilé de cinquante ans, dans l'Eglise paroissiale des ss. Michele et Gudule* (Brussels: B. Le Francq, 1820), p. 124.

86 Estienne Ydens, *Histoire dv S. sacrement de miracle* (Brussels: Rutgeert Velpius, 1605), f. *3v: 'il m'a semble non seulement expedient & prouffitable, mais aussi du tout necessaire, de mettre amplement par escrit ceste tant illustre & admirable oeuvre de Dieu, qu'il a faict en vostre noble ville de Bruxelles, il y a passé maintenant deux cents & trente cincq ans'.

87 Ibid., f. **2r: 'O hereticque abominable / Et toy pauvre Iuif miserable / Errans parmy l'obscurité / Quittez l'erreur vain qui vous plonge / Es eaux bourbeuses du mensonge / Et embrassez la verité.'

> for good reason can one attribute to the Holy Sacrament that during the great troubles of these Low Countries, this town has always been preserved. Despite the very evident perils, in which she has been found many times, the pillages and sacks by men of war, from which virtually all the other neighbouring towns have suffered.[88]

Here, too, an inhabitant of the Southern Netherlands considered it best to stress that everyone had suffered, and in doing so conveniently forgot that many of his fellow citizens had been heretics. Ydens ignored the fact that the Calvinist republic of Brussels had had the support of local inhabitants and only mentioned the troubled period of the Revolt to underline both the malice of heretics and the careful safekeeping of the relic as well as the population's enthusiastic restoration of the devotion in 1585. This approach, which exonerated the inhabitants of their participation in the rebellion, did not meet with much resistance. Albert and Isabella, for instance, awarded Ydens 400 *livres* for his work, and 850 copies were printed.[89] The archdukes embraced the cult and under their rule the procession of the Sacrament of Miracle became the most important ritual in the Brussels calendar.[90]

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, authorities in the formerly rebellious South had laid the foundation for a successful restoration of Catholicism, and although H.J. Elias has shown that heresy was still an important issue in the border regions, it no longer posed as dangerous a threat to internal stability as it had before 1585.[91] The successful attempts of re-Catholicisation by secular priests, religious orders, local authorities and the Habsburg dynasty, however, could not completely camouflage the fact that things had gone seriously wrong in the past. Despite public policies of oblivion, everyone knew what had happened. The war required an ongoing levying of taxes, which had to be justified—if only by reminding people of the horrors of heresy. Furthermore, despite the unwillingness of government authorities and the population alike to dwell on the troubled period of 1566–1585, people could hardly deny that the restoration of church and dynasty had been preceded

88 Ibid., p. 68: 'a bonne raison peult on attribuer a ce sainct Sacrement, que durant ces grandes troubles de ce pays bas, ceste ville a tousjours esté preservée, nonobstant les tres-evidentz perilz, esquelles elle s'est par tant des fois trouvée, des pilleries, & saccagementz des gens de guerre, que quasi toutes les aultres villes voisinnes ont souffert.'

89 Finot, 'Les subventions', p. 179.

90 Thøfner, *A Common Art*, p. 255.

91 Elias, *Kerk en staat*, pp. 11–23.; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, p. 159.

by violation and destruction. Churches and convents still carried the scars of heretical violence.[92] Nor was oblivion always desirable. Just as religious converts in their conversion narratives needed to acknowledge that they had strayed from the right path to emphasise that they had mended their ways, on a collective level Southern rulers, political propagandists and artists liked to compare the Catholicity of their present society to the past evils of heresy.[93]

How did inhabitants of the Habsburg Netherlands solve these tensions between the desire to forget and the apparent urge to remember? One way to deal with the troubled past was to focus attention on the things Southern people could be proud of in the period 1566–1585 or on which a positive spin could at least be put. These did not necessarily have to be events in the Netherlands. On 7 October 1571 the Battle of Lepanto took place, far away from the unrest in the Low Countries. That year people celebrated this Habsburg victory over the Ottoman infidels; the victory contributed to the Habsburg dynasty's reputation as protector of the faith. Soon after the battle, Pope Pius V, who had organised the Christian mobilisation against the Turks in 1571, proclaimed that from then on 7 October was to be celebrated as the feast of Our Lady of Victory, directly linking the victory at Lepanto to the intercessions of the Holy Virgin. On 1 April 1573 Pope Gregory XIII issued the Papal bull Monet apostolus, which officially instituted the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary, also to be celebrated in Catholic churches on 7 October.[94] Although this was, of course, not an exclusively Netherlandish feast, the Counter-Reformation and the burgeoning Marian devotion in the Southern Netherlands did render it particularly popular there.[95] After news of Don John of Austria's victory at Lepanto had reached Antwerp, local Dominicans founded the Confraternity of the Rosary to honour and commemorate with an annual procession the Dominican priests who participated in the battle with only their rosaries and prayers as weapons against the enemy.

92 Andrew Spicer has recently argued that not only the Archdukes Albert and Isabella should be credited for the reconstructions of the religious landscape. He has demonstrated that these also took place on the initiative of local government and church authorities soon after the Iconoclastic Furies of 1566 and after the period of Calvinist republics in the 1580s: Andrew Spicer, 'After Iconoclasm: Reconciliation and Resacralization in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1566–1585', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44:2 (2013), p. 433.

93 Peter Mazur and Abigail Shinn, 'Introduction: Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World', *Journal of Early Modern History* 17:5-6 (2013), p. 428.

94 Iris Constant, *Kruisbeeld tegen kromzwaard. De neerslag van de zeeslag van Lepanto in de Italiaanse kunst ten tijde van de Contrareformatie* (Rotterdam: s.n., 2005), pp. 22, 179.

95 Annick Delfosse, *La "Protectrice du Païs-Bas". Stratégies politiques et figures de la Vierge dans les Pays-Bas espagnols* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 228–229.

Around 1615, the confraternity ordered a series of fifteen paintings by eleven Antwerp painters that depicted the mysteries of the rosary.[96] Pope Pius V's beatification in 1671 and the celebration of the first centenary of Lepanto in 1671 both demonstrate the durability of this memory culture.[97] On the occasion of the centenary, members of the Antwerp confraternity commissioned a series of paintings commemorating the miracle of Lepanto, which was to be placed in the Dominican St Paul's Church's northern transept close to the altar of the Holy Virgin. The battle had been far away from the Netherlands, but the painter gave the series a distinctly Netherlandish character. The first painting of the cycle depicted the preparations for the battle and also featured a Dominican nun praying for victory (Figure 6). In the background we see the city of Lepanto. The buildings, however, do not resemble the local architecture. The houses have crow-stepped gables, which at the time were characteristic of Netherlandish buildings. The skyline even vaguely resembles that of Antwerp. One scholar has argued that this 'mistake' betrays the painter's inability to detach himself from his home town.[98] A more likely explanation, however, is that the painter knew full well that Lepanto did not look like Antwerp and the similarity was intentional. The deliberate obfuscation of the topography enabled the cycle to send multiple messages. The paintings celebrated the Catholic victory at Lepanto, but they also visualised the struggle against heresy in the Southern Netherlands and the war against the Dutch Republic. This idea is corroborated by the observation that the enemy ships on the painting wave not only the red flag with a crescent moon but also North Netherlandish flags, including—clearly visible—that of Zeeland with the demi-lion emerging out of the water.

However problematic it was to talk or write about the period of 1566–1585, the period after 1585 was far less controversial, and authors enthusiastically exhibited Habsburg successes. Two victories against the rebels around 1600 exemplify the existence in the South of a more positive memory culture about the Revolt: the fall of Hulst (1596) and of Ostend (1604). In 1596, Albert captured the Flemish city of Hulst, and that same year a pamphlet appeared in Antwerp in which the author remarked that the triumphant Habsburg troops had negotiated a traditional treaty of reconciliation 'with remission, abolition

96 Raymond Sirjacobs and Guido Coolens, *Antwerpen Sint Pauluskerk. De Vijftien Mysteries van de Rozenkrans* (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 1993), pp. 4–8.

97 Constant, *Kruisbeeld tegen kromzwaard*, p. 20.

98 Raymond Sirjacobs, *Sint Pauluskerk Antwerpen. Historische gids* (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2001), p. 80.

FIGURE 6 *Jan Peeters, preparations for the Battle of Lepanto (1671), Sint Pauluskerk, Antwerp,* © KIK-IRPA, *Brussel.*

and eternal forgetting of the occurrences up until now'.[99] Yet, the victory was to be remembered. Although quite a dry factual account, its author reflected on some more general implications of the victory that would later in the seventeenth century be picked up and elaborated on. 'God Almighty alone must be praised for this victory', according to the author, 'because it is difficult to capture this city through violence'.[100] He finished by encouraging his readers to pray to God 'so that his omnipotence may direct the hand of his highness, for the flourishing of the Catholic religion and the prosperity of these Netherlands.'[101]

99 Anonymous, *Warachtich verhael vant overleveren der stadt van Hulst in Vlaenderen, aen . . . Albertus van Oostenrijcke, Gouverneur generael vande Nederlanden. Gheschiet den xx. dach augusti. 1596* (Antwerp: Ian van Ghelen, 1596), ff. a3v–a4r: 'met Remissie abolitie ende eeuwich vergheten van t'ghene tot noch toe is ghebeurt'; a commemorative medal was struck on the occasion: anonymous, Inname van Hulst (1596), medal, University Library Ghent, BRKZ.NUM.008034.

100 Ibid., f. a4r: 'Godt Almachtich moet van dese Victorie sonderlinghe ghelooft zijn / want het is een plaetse qualijc winbaer met ghewelt'.

101 Ibid., f. a4v: 'op dat s'sijne almoghentheyt de handt van zijne hoocheyt wilde dirigeren tot voirderinghe vanden Catholijcke Religie ende prosperiteyt van dese Nederlanden.'

Numerous people ascribed the victory to Archduke Albert. In a eulogy published after Albert's death in 1621, historian Aubert Miraeus mentioned the victory multiple times, and Albert's biographer Jean Bruslé de Montpleinchamp saw Hulst as one of the most important victories.[102] Victories like Hulst supported the idea that loyalty to Habsburg ultimately paid off. In their turn, Albert and Isabella and their adherents exploited the triumphs and embedded them in a Catholic-Habsburg-Netherlandish memory culture which portrayed the Habsburgs as the best protection from heresy.[103]

Albert and Isabella positively believed that piety could win the war, and they personally set the example. The archducal enthusiasm for the Holy Virgin of Scherpenheuvel and the siege of Ostend may illustrate this point.[104] The cult of Scherpenheuvel existed before the archdukes commenced their reign, though in a quite primitive form. Town secretary of Brussels Philips Numan recorded the legend of the Virgin of Scherpenheuvel in his 1604 tract about the cult, which he wrote on the orders of Bishop Johannes Miraeus of Antwerp. After interviewing some old people in the region around Scherpenheuvel, he concluded that it was in the public memory of the community that

> more than a hundred years ago there had been a shepherd who, while leading his sheep in a meadow besides the hill and finding the aforementioned statuette, took it along with him and carried it home, but that the statuette had miraculously become so heavy that it could not be carried.[105]

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102 Aubert Miraeus, 'La vie, mort & enterrement de Albert le Pie, Archiduc d'Austrice, duc de Bourgoigne, Brabant &c', in: Adrian de Meerbeeck, ed., *Theatre fvnebre ou sont representéez les funerailles de plusieurs princes et la vie, trespas, & magnifiques obseques de Albert le pie de treshaulte memoire archidvc d'Avstrice* [. . .]. *Faicts a Bruxelles le 12. de mars, 1622* (Brussels: Ferdinand de Hoy-maecker, 1622), pp. 216–221; Jean Chysostome Bruslé de Montpleinchamp, *L'Histoire de l'Archiduc Albert gouverneur general et puis Prince Souverain de la Belgique* (Cologne: heritiers Corneille Egmond, 1693), p. 377.

103 See for instance: Cornelis Martin, Pieter de Costere and Joannes Baptista Vrients, *Les genealogies et anciennes descentes des forestiers et comtes de Flandre, avec brieves descriptions de levrs vies et gestes le tovt recveilly des plvs veritables, approvees et anciennes croniqves et annales qvi se trovvent* (Antwerp: Iean Baptist Vrints, 1608), p. 120.

104 For a general study of Scherpenheuvel, see: Luc Duerloo and Marc Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel: het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2002).

105 Philips Numan, *Historie vande Mirakelen die onlancxs in grooten ghetale ghebeurt zyn / door die intercessie ende voor-bidden van die H. Maget Maria op een plaetse genoemt Scherpen-heuuel by die Stadt van Sichen in Brabant* (Brussels: Rugeert Velpius, 1606), pp. 28–29: 'daer es een fame ende ghedenckenisse by allen den genen die int selve quar-

The shepherd's master saw him standing there, unable to move, and without any difficulty placed the statuette back in the oak tree. During the Revolt, raging iconoclasts stole the statuette, but soon after the reconciliation in the 1580s it was replaced.

Scherpenheuvel became especially popular after the Habsburg victory at Ostend. In 1604, the city of Ostend fell after a long Habsburg siege. The Infanta Isabella attributed the ultimate Habsburg victory against the rebel occupiers of the city to the divine intervention of the Holy Virgin of Scherpenheuvel, thereby linking that pilgrimage site to the celebration of the victory at Ostend. Scherpenheuvel, for instance, received the same town privileges as Ostend.[106] Histories about the siege invariably framed the Habsburg triumph as providential and connected it to the archdukes' extraordinary devotion.[107] As such, Scherpenheuvel became the archdukes' most important site of pilgrimage.[108]

A second way of dealing with the troubled history of the rebellion was to make it pale into insignificance compared to the longstanding traditions of Catholicism in the Low Countries. The period around 1600 saw a surge of writings and publications on church history and religious orders, which emphasised the antiquity—and, therefore, the verity—of Catholicism.[109] Authors of these texts used this longevity to argue that the 'true' faith should not be abandoned for newfangled denominations such as Calvinism. The Jesuit Franciscus

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tier woonen / dat over hondert ende meer jaeren sekere Schaeps-herdere is geweest / de welcke leydende zyn schapen / weyden neffens den zelven berch / ende vindende t'voorschreven Beeldeken / dat met hem heeft meynen / ende t'huys te dragen / maer dat het beeldeken miraculeuselyck soo swaer is geworden dat het niet om verdragen en was'.

106 Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, pp. 139–142.

107 Christophe de Bonours, *Le memorable siege d'Ostende, decrit, et divisé en dovze livres* (Brussels: Iean de Meerbeeck, 1628); Isabella's chaplain Philippe Chifflet throught that 'the author lacked judgement' ['l'autheur manque de jugement'] and that while the book was sold for 3 florins 'I would not even want it for 5 sou' [je n'en vouldrois point pour cinc solz'], in: 'Texte intégral des lettres', edited by De Meester de Ravestein, KBR, MS II 7277, f. 225; see also the following commemorative medals: anonymous, De aartshertogen voorspellen de uiteindelijke overgave van Oostende (1604), University Library Ghent, BRKZ.NUM.008080; anonymous, Antwerpen eert Spinola om de verovering van Oostende (1605), University Library Ghent, BRKZ.NUM.008086.

108 Craig Harline and Eddy Put, *A Bishop's Tale: Mathias Hovius Among his Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 93–108.

109 See for example: Maximilian de Wignacourt, *Discovrs svr l'estat des Pays Bas. Auquel sont deduicts les causes de ses troubles, & calamitez, & leurs remedes* (Arras: Guillaume de Riviere, 1593), p. 67.

Costerus, for instance, published in 1595 his *Proof of the Old Catholic Teachings* [*Bewiis der ovder catholiicker leeringhe*]. In this text he observed that 'it is the manner of all heretics, to introduce some novelty in the world, never heard of or known by their parents'.[110] In 1619–20, Jean Cousin, canon of the cathedral of Tournai in Hainault, published his multi-volume *History of Tournai* [*Histoire de Tournay*], and out of more than thirteen hundred pages devoted only thirteen to the Revolt.[111] Citing Florentius van der Haer, Aubert Miraeus and other respectable Catholic historians, Cousin wrote that that conflict was still in 'our memory' and that the heretics had not been respectable citizens of Tournai but 'foreigners and louts'.[112] Calvinist tyranny in Tournai ended when Philip of Saint-Aldegonde, lord of Noircarmes chased away the heretics.[113] Cousin finished his discussion with a conclusion in Latin: 'the land of Flanders is the sure grave of heresy'.[114] According to Cousin, the Revolt was just a tiny blotch on Tournai's long record of Catholicism.

Southern Catholics, like Cousin, did not enquire into the past passivity of the population against heretical violence but rather focused on the sheer deviousness and deception of the heretical rebels. The misdeeds of Protestant fanatics were popular themes among Southern propagandists. Richard Verstegan published in 1587 *Theatre of Cruelties of Heretics in Our Time*, mentioned in the previous chapter.[115] Verstegan's *Theatre* was a compendium of heretical savagery. A medallion in the frontispiece of this publication shows the biblical scene of Christ Carrying the Cross. The book itself contains a print cycle focusing on the sufferings of the universal Catholic Church and on the notorious cruelty of heretics, with ample attention to the Low Countries. With letter marks, Verstegan linked his descriptions to the persons depicted by the corresponding print. The first martyrs he included for the Low Countries were those of Gorcum, a group of priests murdered by Beggars in 1572. After a brief description of the martyrs' sufferings, he added that in Gorcum's church the Beggars

110 Franciscus Costerus, *Bewiis der ovder catholiicker leeringhe, met antwoorde op sommighe teghenstellinghen* (Antwerp: Ioachim Trognæsius, 1595), f. *3r: 'Het is alle Heretijcken maniere, eenighe nieuwicheyt inder vverelt te bringhen, noyt van heur ouders ghehoort oft bekent'.

111 Cousin, *Histoire de Tournay*, pp. 305–317. With thanks to Erika Kuijpers, who gave me this reference.

112 Ibid., p. 305: 'nostre memoire'; 'estrangers, & manans'.

113 Ibid., pp. 314–315.

114 Ibid., p. 317: 'haereticis certum est Flandrorum terra sepulchrum'.

115 Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis*. The following citations are from the simultaneous French translation.

took down an image of Jesus Christ and hanged it on the gallows (Figure 7). Apparently, this was some sort of established heretical practice because 'they also took the sacred host from the hands of a priest in the church of Gouda in Holland, and attached it with nails on the gallows.'[116] Paul Arblaster has suggested that the *Theatre* was an 'unofficial work of government propaganda' on the basis of Verstegan's status as a royal pensioner, the assistance he received from Johannes Bochius—the town secretary of Antwerp—and the fact that the work was physically printed by the Typographer Royal, Christopher Plantin.[117] Verstegan was definitely not the only author who wrote about heretical violence in the Low Countries during the Revolt. In 1604 a Catholic theologian and native of Gorcum, Willem Estius, published his popular history of the Martyrs of Gorcum.[118] Willem Spoelbergh translated it into Dutch and addressed it to the bishop of Antwerp Johannes Miraeus.[119] In his dedication he explained that the history of the martyrs might be spread even more effectively with this Dutch edition because it could also be read by those who had not mastered Latin.[120] In the history, Estius emphasised the endurance and piety of the martyred priests, and he described at length the gruesome death of the main perpetrator, William II van der Marck, lord of Lumey, to demonstrate how God punishes heretics.[121] Similar instances of Protestant violence against Catholic priests occurred in Oudenaarde and Roermond. In these cases, too, martyrologies of the victim priests appeared in print.[122]

116 Richard Verstegan, *Theatre des Cruautez des Heretiques de nostre temps* (Antwerp: Adrien Hubert, 1588), p. 58: 'Ils arracherent aussy la saincte hostie des mains d'vn prêtre en l'eglise de Goude en Hollande, & l'attacherent auec des cloux au gibet.'

117 Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), p. 41.

118 Willem Estius, *Historiae martyrum Gorcomiensivm, maiori nvmero fratrvm minorvm; qvi pro fide Catholica à preduellibus interfecti sunt anno Domini M.D.LXXII, libri quator* (Douai: Baltazaris Belleri, 1603).

119 Willem Estius, *Waerachtighe historie van de martelaers van Gorcom, meesten-deel al Minder-broeders, die veur het Catholijck ghelooue van de ketters ghedoodt zijn inden iaere onses Heeren, MDLXXII* (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1604), p. 3.

120 Ibid., pp. 3–4.

121 Ibid., pp. 373–376.

122 Arnold Havens, *Historica relatio XII martyrum Cartusianorum qui Ruraemundae in ducatu Geldriae anno MDLXXII agonem suum feliciter compleverunt.*, [Editio repetita saec. XVIII]. (sl: sn, 1608); Victor, de Buck, 'Les Martyrs d'Audenarde. Documents officiels publié par V.D.B.', in *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* (Peeters, 1870), pp. 49–117; Jules Ketele (ed.), *Klagt Schrift van J.D. Waelckens, Pastor van Edelaere; of Audenaerde, Door de Geusen Ingenomen* (Audenaerde: Ronsse, 1836); Jac Yetzweirtius,

FIGURE 7 *An image of Jesus Christ on the gallows at Brill.*

But there were more positive ways to look at the Revolt. Miracles, especially, demonstrated that Catholicism was the true faith and the house of Habsburg its best protector. For that reason, they featured in numerous narratives about the conflict. We have already discussed Scherpenheuvel, but other pilgrimage sites also showed how God had favoured the Habsburg Netherlands. Humanist scholar Justus Lipsius published an account in Latin of the veneration of the statue of the Holy Virgin in Halle.[123] The book was promptly translated by the secretary of the city of Brussels, Philip Numan.[124] Numan took up the translation of Lipsius, he claimed, because another translation had appeared in Delft in the Dutch Republic, belittling the Catholic veneration of the Holy Virgin and ridiculing Her divine intercessions.[125] In his work, Lipsius intertwined stories about local miracles with political and military history. In 1580, for instance, Brussels 'was then also on the side of the rebels of the prince [William of Orange], not having been conquered, but deceived.'[126] Every day, the governor Olivier van den Tempel looked at neighbouring Halle, which had reconciled with the Spanish king, to see how he could capture the city. During an attack on the city, one of Van den Tempel's soldiers bragged 'that with his own hand [...] he would break the nose of that little woman of Halle.'[127] According to Lipsius, the Holy Virgin heard the soldier's intention and decided what should happen. In accordance with the biblical proverb 'Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein', the people of Halle shot the soldier in the nose.[128] For modern readers it is interesting that Lipsius, although a royal historiographer, never wrote a national history of the Low Countries but did find time for miracles. The same could be said of Erycius Puteanus, a successor royal historiographer. He also published a popular account of miracles in French and Latin, in this

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Aldenardies sive de Subdola ac Futiva... (Ghandavi: apud Ioannem Lapidanum, 1573). With thanks to Erika Kuijpers for these references.

123 Justus Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis* (Antwerp: ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1604).

124 Justus Lipsius, *Die heylighe maghet van Halle, door Ivstvs Lipsivs. Hare weldaden ende mirakelen oordententlijck ende ghetrouwelijck beschreven. Ende nu onlancx uyt den latyne int nederlandsche overghesedt door Philippus Numan* (Brussels: Rutger Velpius, 1607).

125 Ibid., voor-reden; the satirical edition in question is: Justus Lipsius, *Heylighe maghet van Halle. Hare weldaden ende miraculen ghetrouwelijck ende ordentlick wtgheschreven*, edited by Aelbrecht van Oosterwijk (Delft: Bruyn Harmansz Schinckel, 1605).

126 Lipsius, *Die heylighe maghet*, p. 37: 'doen tertijt oock op de zyde der Rebellen vanden Prince was / niet verwonnen maer bedrogen zynde.'

127 Ibid., p. 38: 'Dat hy met zijn eygen hant dat vrouken van Halle [...] den neuse soude af snyden.'; also cited in Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, p. 167.

128 Lipsius, *Die heylighe maghet*, p. 38.

case miracles attributed to the Holy Virgin of Scherpenheuvel.[129] The author of a handwritten chronicle finished in the second half of the seventeenth century provided an explanation for the interest in miracles: 'the heresy of our time cannot be vanquished but by miracles because one does not dispute with words but with actions and only with actions can the impudent lies of heresy be repudiated.'[130] Miracles, in short, proved that Catholics were right.

Despite the attempts to circumvent the embarrassing fact that the Southern Netherlands had once been a cradle of heresy, there were still episodes that apparently needed to be explained away. People in government were keenly interested in the history of the rebellion because such historical knowledge might help to prevent reoccurrence. The Walloon poet and courtier Maximilian de Wignacourt, who had been in the service of the Spanish ambassador in England and who subsequently moved in Madrid court circles, is a case in point. In 1593 he published in Arras his *Discourse on the State of the Low Countries from which are Deduced the Causes of these Troubles, and Calamities, and their Remedies* [*Discovrs svr l'estat des Pays Bas. Auquel sont deduicts les causes de ses troubles, & calamitez, & leurs remedes*].[131] Addressing himself to Philip II, De Wignacourt remarked that

> Just as the state is in the church, the church is in the state; they are joined by the ordination of God in an indissoluble bond, to maintain the unity of human society and to guide it to its happiness: it is impossible to see the one prosper, while the other is in disorder.[132]

Wignacourt explained that the nobility had disturbed this balance between religion and state by their heretical inclinations and their desire for novelties. Making much use of the pronoun 'they', he did not name many rebels except the most important leaders, including Henry van Brederode and Prince

129 Erycius Puteanus, *Miracles derniers de Nostre Dame de Montaigv* (Louvain: Hendrik van Hastens and Petrus II Zangrius, 1622).

130 Anonymous, 'Chronycke der Nederlanden, 1500–1693', KBR Ms 21769, p. 103: 'want de ketterye van onsen tijdt en kan noijt verwonnen worden, dan met mirakelen daermen niet met woorden, maer met daden disputeert ende de onbeschaemden leugenaers der ketterijen wederlegghen en kan.'

131 Wignacourt, *Discovrs svr l'estat des Pays Bas*.

132 Ibid., f. a2r: 'D'autant que l'Estat est en l'Eglise, & l'Eglise en l'Estat; estans les ioincts par la disposition de Dieu, d'une liaison indissoluble, pour maintenir en union la societé humaine, & la conduire à sa felicité: il est impossible de voir l'un prosperer, l'autre estant en desordre'.

William.[133] The solution De Wignacourt proposed for ending the troubles was 'to double the zeal in the faith and affection in serving God'.[134]

An Irreconcilable Past

The previous two sections have shown that, around 1600, inhabitants of the Northern and Southern Netherlands came to see the Revolt very differently. In the Republic, people celebrated the successful struggle against the Spanish king. More specifically, they commemorated Spanish iniquities in support of the argument that the enemy needed to be crushed before a peace could be negotiated. The resulting canonical narrative consisted of a sequence of heroic episodes, whereas in the South the number of episodes in the public memory was small. When Southerners dealt with particular events that had occurred during the rebellion, they ascribed excesses to the heretics and emphasised the providential support for the Habsburg cause. Despite these striking differences, we must not consider these two narratives in isolation for they interacted with and mutually influenced one another, especially during the Twelve Years' Truce. During the Truce, Northerners and Southerners realised that they had grown apart, but many of them held on to the ideal of Netherlandish unity. Southerners and Northerners hence took a keen interest in one another's interpretations of the past.[135] Research has shown, for instance, that elite libraries throughout the South held works of history, including histories of the Revolt published in the Dutch Republic.[136] Many handwritten chronicles of the history of the Low Countries survive in Belgian libraries. They contain chronological accounts of the history of the Revolt and pay attention to the secular aspects of the conflict.[137] This observation seems to confirm that, indeed, political historiography was such a taboo that in order to evade the stringent censorship many authors preferred handwritten rather than published accounts. Since these handwritten accounts were, nonetheless, often copied and further

133 Ibid., pp. 12, 16–29.

134 Ibid., pp. 87–88: 'il nous faut doubler le zele en la foy, et affection de servir à Dieu [...]'.

135 Pollmann, 'No Man's Land', pp. 245–260.

136 Scheelings, 'De geschiedschrijving', p. 175.

137 See for instance: anonymous, 'Histoire des Pays-Bas, 651–1646', KBR, MS 7440; Joachim Hoppers, 'Recueil des troubles des Pays-Bas', KBR, MS 10429–30; anonymous, 'Guerre civile du XVI^e siècle', KBR, MS 13408–9; anonymous 'Pasquilles de l'an 1566. Lettres d'octroi aux gueux donnés par le maitre Satanique', KBR, MS 15895.

distributed, it appears that in the Habsburg Netherlands there was definitely interest in a more secular version of the history of the Revolt.

Discussions about the past between Northern and Southern authors during the Truce often brought to light fierce disagreements. In 1620, Catholic historian Adrianus van Meerbeeck reflected on these discussions in his *Chronicle of the Entire World, and Especially the Seventeen Netherlands* [*Chroniicke vande gantsche vverelt, ende sonderlinghe vande seventhien Nederlanden*]: 'since one will find as many opinions as there are heads, it is difficult to find two people who agree about everything'.[138] Van Meerbeeck continued with a question: 'what writings are more subject to the judgement of people than history?' and he explained that interpretations of history frequently relied on one's own 'inclinations'.[139]

The Jesuit Thomas Sailly entered into a discussion with a Northern writer of history. Sailly wrote a Counter-Reformation tract about the Revolt in 1612 in which he observed that authors and publishers in the United Provinces had, 'more than ever,' begun to squander 'many thousands of guilders so that the tars of their abusive and impertinent books [...] could crawl among the general population.'[140] Not much is known about the circulation of these booklets, but Sailly clearly believed in their destructive potential. He wrote his text in reaction to Willem Baudartius' *Wake-up Call* (1610), the booklet discussed above in which the exiled Calvinist clergyman Baudartius narrated the history of the Revolt as a story of Spanish atrocities. Whereas Baudartius narrated the history of the Revolt to point out that Spaniards were not to be trusted and that the recently promulgated Twelve Years' Truce should, therefore, be rescinded as soon as possible, Sailly denounced this violation of article 4 of the Truce in which the Northern and Southern Netherlands had, after all, agreed

> that the subjects and inhabitants [...] shall have and use all maner of good correspondence, and amitie [...] without calling to mind, or

138 Adrianus van Meerbeeck, *Chroniicke vande gantsche vverelt, ende sonderlinghe vande seventhien Nederlanden* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1620), f. *2r: 'alsoomen soo veel meyningen vindt, als daer bycans hoofden zijn; alsoo en vindt men qualijck twee menschen, die van eene sake over al een ghevoelen hebben.'

139 Ibid., f. *2r: 'wat is daer het vonnisse der menschen meer onderworpen dan de historie?'; 'genegentheden'.

140 Thomas Sailly, *Den nievwen morghen-vvecker, wijsende de natuere* [...] *der ketterije* (Louvain: Joannes Christophorus Flavius, 1612), ff. 2v–3r: 'meer als oyt'; 'hoe menigheduysent guldens sy verquisten, op dat d'oncruydt haerder schimpighe ende impertinente boecxkens [...] onder den ghemeynen man soude moghen cruypen'.

> remembring any of the offences, hurts and dammages [sic], that they or any of them have received, had, and endured in the forepassed warres, and troublesome times.[141]

'Put into simple Dutch', Sailly accused Baudartius of sowing 'discord, quarrels, strife, war and, as a result, destruction, adversity and ruin of these lands'.[142] In the South, where Habsburg authority and Catholicism were restored, there was no equivalent for this Northern memory practice. When Sailly responded to Baudartius for instance he did not go about refuting all his arguments with alternative historical evidence. He undermined Baudartius by taking a fundamentally different perspective in which the root cause of all troubles was the heresy of Calvinists and the envy of over-ambitious nobles. For Sailly that was the material point, and there was no need to enter at length into a futile discussion of what had happened subsequently.

Sailly used proverbial wisdom to make his point that heretics in the North had caused all troubles by their heresy and warmongering. 'Just as one who is good does not lightly suspect someone to be evil', Sailly cited church father John Chrysostom, 'someone who is evil himself does not lightly expect good of another.'[143] To make matters worse, heretics not only tried to win people over to their sects and persuade them not to fear God, they also positively encouraged them to evil.[144] He explained how the first Protestants entered the country. Through 'convenient lies [...] collected from forged histories', they oppressed good Catholics.[145] By 'convenient lies', Sailly clearly referred to the use, or rather abuse, of history by Northern authors who blamed Philip II for all the troubles and who argued that the Spanish king had loved his Spanish people more than he did the inhabitants of the Low Countries. These inhabitants, Sailly claimed,

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141 *Articles, of a treatie of truce. Made and concluded in the towne and citie of Antvverp, the 9. of April 1609* (s.l.: s.n., 1609), ff. b1v–b2r; Sailly, *Den nievwen morghen-vvecker*, p. 6.

142 Sailly, *Den nievwen morghen-vvecker*, p. 5: 'In platten Nederlants gheseydt', 'twist / tweedracht / onvrede / oorlooghe / ende desvolghens verwoestinghe / qualijckvaert / ende verderffenisse der landen'.

143 Ibid., p. 16: 'Ghelijck hy niet licht van yemanden quaet en vermoedt, die selve goet is; alsoo die selve quaet is, en vermoedt niet licht yet goedts van een ander.'

144 Ibid., p. 61.

145 Ibid., p. 121: 'treffelijcke leughenen [...] wt vervalste Historien'.

> were accustomed to be mollycoddled by his father the Roman Emperor Charles: who, as they said, knew how to live with all sorts of people, being with the Germans as a good German, with the Brabanters, Hollanders, Zeelanders, with the Walloons or French, and more such people, as if he was born among them a Brabanter, Hollander, Spaniard or Italian.[146]

But Sailly disagreed. He thought that this difference between Philip II and his father Charles V could not explain the origins of the Revolt and said that 'of such great misery (in which the country has fallen after the departure of the king) so small a matter cannot have been the cause'.[147] Southern authors invariably claimed that the Reformed religion caused the rebellion. Sailly for example observed that its adherents came into contact with Calvinism and Lutheranism 'during the time of the previous wars in foreign lands'.[148] Furthermore, after the departure of Philip II they began to hold grudges against anyone who stood in the way of their selfish ambitions, such as the highest representatives of the Habsburg overlord, the governor Margaret of Parma and her advisor Cardinal de Granvelle.[149] In 1566, 'when people did all to extinguish this first flame of the imminent fire', heretics presented a petition on 6 April—according to Sailly the first public sign of discontent among the population.[150]

Clearly, Southern authors frowned upon the Northern craze for the recent past. In his *The Mirror of Netherlandish Miseries* [*De spiegel der Nederlandsche elenden*] (1621), Richard Verstegan emphasised the Habsburg defence of the Catholic religion and skipped much of what had happened during the Revolt. Paul Arblaster has demonstrated that Verstegan's works in Dutch were distributed in the North as well as the South and that he also had a Northern readership of Catholics and moderates in mind.[151] Verstegan considered the

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146 Ibid., p. 66: 'Daer sy ghewoon waeren / al anders van sijnen Vader Carolus / den Roomsche Keyser ghecaresseert te wesen: die / soos y spraecken / wiste met alle soorte van Volcke te leven / wesende met die Duydtschen als eenen vromen Duydtsch / met de Brabanders / Hollanders / Seelanders / met Waelen oft Franchoisen / ende derghelijcke menschen / al ofte hy onder henlieden eenen gheborenen Brabander / Hollander / Spaniaert / oft Italiaen hadde gheweest'.

147 Ibid.: 'van soo grooten Ellende (waer inne corts naer des Conincks vertreck het gheheele Landt ghevallen is) en const soo cleynen saecke / gheen oorsaecke ghewesen'.

148 Ibid., p. 67: 'die sy ten tijden des voorghaenden krijchs in vreemde Landen hadden beghonst te suyghen'.

149 Ibid., p. 68.

150 Ibid., p. 69: 'Ter wijlen / datmen alle neersticheyde dede / om dit eerste Vonxken des toecomende Viers wt te blusschen . . .'.

151 Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 119.

war inevitable due to the rise of heretical sects, which he felt had caused the conflict in which 'province has risen against province, city against city, Netherlanders against Netherlanders in hostility.'[152] He abhorred the ingratitude of the 'Hollanders' in the North. 'Regardless of their previous rebellious crimes', Verstegan wrote, Southern people have 'treated them as if such crimes had never occurred'.[153] Still, 'those of Holland have tried to make their evil case good with countless slanderous books', prompting Verstegan to publish his interpretation of what the Revolt had been all about.[154]

Some episodes of the Revolt were discussed by Northerners and Southerners alike: the petition of the indigenous nobles to Margaret of Parma in Brussels and the Iconoclastic Furies in 1566, the governorship of the duke of Alba (1567–1573), and the rebel capture of Brill in 1572. Verstegan, for instance, argued that religious conflicts had divided the people, which had resulted in political conflict. He characterised as 'forced' the unpopular measures taken by Alba and Philip II, thereby exonerating them from any charges of callousness.[155] What was considered cruel by Northern heretics Southern authors believed to be a necessary defence of the Catholic religion. Just like De Wignacourt, cited above, Verstegan argued that by protecting Catholicism, the natural overlords of the house of Habsburg had prevented society from falling into discord. For that reason, Northerners who rebelled against their overlord Philip II could not be considered lovers of the patria.[156]

Although Northerners and Southerners attached much importance to the events of 1566, they interpreted them in radically different ways. Southern authors asserted that the Habsburg authorities could not see the petition coming.[157] Sailly had been born around 1553 and claimed to hold 'good memory' of the event.[158] He argued that the nobles came together only 'to demand

152 Richard Verstegan, *De spiegel der Nederlandsche elenden* (Mechelen: Hendrick Jaye, 1621), p. 5: 'provincie tegen provincie, Stadt tegen Stadt, Nederlanders tegen Nederlanders syn in hostiliteyt opgestaen'.

153 Ibid., p. 4: 'niet tegenstaende al hunne voorghaende rebellighe misdaeden, maer ter contrarie hunlieden getracteert heeft aleueleens pft alsucke misdaeden noyt en waeren geschiet'.

154 Ibid., p. 8: 'Die van Hollandt hebben met ontallijcke lasterlijcke boeckskens gesocht hunnen quaede saeck goet te maecken'.

155 Ibid., pp. 34, 44, 61: 'gedwongen'.

156 Ibid., pp. 126–131.

157 Sailly, *Den nievwen morghen-vvecker*, p. 69; Verstegan, *De spiegel der Nederlandsche elenden*, p. 33.

158 Sailly, *Den nievwen morghen-vvecker*, p. 69: 'daer ick noch goede memorie affdraeghe'. Sailly must have been around 13 years old at the time.

new things, such as freedom of conscience, moderation of the imperial placards against the obstinate, impudent, and malicious heretics'.[159] Similarly, Haraeus wrote that the petition was 'without a doubt the first public sign [...] of these troubles.'[160] Unlike Southern authors, Northern authors argued that the petition in 1566 was the culmination of longer existing discontent among the nobles, referring to the fact that the matter had already been raised by several delegations to Spain by Lamoral, count of Egmont (1565), Floris de Montmorency, baron of Montigny (1566), and Jan IV de Glymes, marquess of Bergen op Zoom (1567), the last two of whom died in Spain.[161]

Besides the petition, the capture of Brill on 1 April 1572 was part of both Northern and Southern historical texts. Again, interpretations of this event differed greatly. Although Southerners considered Brill a noteworthy stage in the conflict, they did not engage in any in-depth discussion. Verstegan, for instance, used it in his chapter on why Elizabeth I of England had shown ingratitude to Philip II. He had helped her in the turbulent first years of her reign, and she 'thanked' him by siding with the rebels. The author referred to the Brill episode to contend that its capture prompted England to promise financial assistance.[162] Haraeus labelled 1572 as 'the second insurgence' and devoted no more attention to it.[163] Willem Estius, in his martyrology of the Gorcum monks who were murdered by the rebels, said that as soon as the rebels took over they began killing Catholics for their faith.[164]

For rebel authors, the capture of Brill carried more significance, and it was generally presented as a key stage of the rebellion. A member of the High Court of Holland, Zeeland and West Friesland, François Vranck, considered 1572 as the year during which Holland and Zeeland had risen against Spain, effectively marking the beginning of the Revolt.[165] Bor saw it as Alba's personal loss. With

159 Ibid., p. 69: 'om sommighe nieuwe dinghen te heyschen / als vryheyt van conscientie / maetinghe vande Keysersche Placaten teghen de hertneckighe / onbeschaemde / ende quaet-willighe ketters'.

160 Franciscus Haraeus, *Onpartijdighe verclaringhe der oorsaken des Nederlantsche oorloghs sedert t'iaer 1566. tot 1608* (Antwerp: G. Ianssens, 1612), p. 13: 'ongetwijfeld het eerste openbaer beginsel [...] van dese troubelen.'

161 *Spieghel der Ievght*, ff. av3 r–v; Gysius, *Oorsprong en voortgang*, p. 112; Bor, *Den oorspronck, begin ende aenvanck*, p. 7; Vranck, *Weerlegginghe*, f. c6r.

162 Verstegan, *De spiegel der Nederlandsche elenden*, pp. 56–57.

163 Haraeus, *Onpartijdighe verclaringhe*, p. 19: 'de tweede oproerte'.

164 Estius, *Waerachtighe historie*, pp. 8–13.

165 Vranck, *Wederlegghinghe*, f. d8v.

a pun on the word Brill, which can also mean 'spectacles' in Dutch, he spread the popular rhyme: 'on the first of April, Duc d'Alb lost his Brill'.[166]

After the discussion of the capture of Brill, the chronology of Northern and Southern historical narratives diverged more spectacularly. In his popular history of the Revolt Richard Verstegan, like other South Netherlandish authors, skipped substantial parts of the history after 1572. He omitted the violent sacks of Naarden, Oudewater, and other cities and jumped to the murder of the leader of the Revolt William of Orange in 1584, a murder that left Hollanders 'as a body without a head.'[167] Carolus Scribani, a Jesuit writer of history, also rushed through the history of the Revolt by briefly eulogising the governors Don Louis de Requesens, John of Austria, the duke of Parma and Archduke Albert. He praised the controversial army commander Alba for being one of the best army generals the world had ever known.[168] Other than that, Scribani looked only at the present and the future, deliberating on how the North could be reconquered.[169]

The influential Southern historian Franciscus Haraeus, a Catholic priest who left the North in 1609, explained in his *Impartial Declaration About the Causes of the Netherlandish War* [*Onpartijdighe verclaringhe der oorsaken des Nederlantsche oorloghs sedert t'iaer 1566. tot 1608*] (1612) what he believed was the origin of the Revolt and in doing so divided the rebellion into three neat chunks: the unrest in 1566, the Calvinist take-over of cities in Holland and Zeeland in 1572, and the power vacuum after the death of Governor Louis de Requesens in 1576. He traced the diverging interpretations of the past back to the tensions between Philip II and William of Orange. The prince of Orange had declared that the Spanish rulers disrespected local privileges. Haraeus rejected this accusation. Citing Hugo Grotius, who claimed in his *Antiquitate Reipublicae Batavicae* that Holland had always been governed by the States, Haraeus asserted that Grotius, like other rebel propagandists such as the high government official François Vranck, did not have any substantial evidence to support such a statement.[170] Haraeus instead contended that the 'Hollanders'

166 Bor, *Den oorspronck, begin ende aenvanck*, p. 34: 'Den eersten van April, Verloor Duc d'Alb sijn Brill' was a pun Bor used in his works. 'Brill' is pronounced identically to 'bril,' which is the Dutch word for spectacles. See also: P. Leendertz, 'Alva's bril', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 17 (1897), pp. 70–71.

167 Verstegan, *De spiegel der Nederlandsche elenden*, pp. 57–58: 'alsoo dat de Hollanders ghelaeten waeren als een lichaam zonder hoofd'.

168 Scribani, *Den Neder-landtschen vvaer-segger*, pp. 11–24.

169 Ibid., pp. 30–98.

170 Haraeus, *Onpartijdighe verclaringhe*, p. 4; in the *Corte Verthooninge van het Recht by den Ridderschap, Edelen, ende Steden van Hollandt ende Westvrieslant van allen ouden tyden in*

had protested against the 'violation' of non-existent privileges, without giving any hint of their dissatisfaction before making their grievances known and before committing the iniquitous crime of the Iconoclasm.[171] Haraeus explained that the rebels had requested that the religious persecutions be tempered, 'as if the people could be left like a horse without a bridle, or small children without the rod'.[172] Similarly, in his explanation for Alba's harsh campaign of retribution around 1572, Haraeus drew a comparison to a schoolmaster and his pupils: 'it is a common command in all well-regulated schools on pain of the rod, that no schoolchildren in winter walk on the ice, nor in the summer that they bathe in deep water, because of the risk of drowning'.[173] If the children disobeyed, should the master be blamed for punishing them? Haraeus let his readers decide and proposed that they should apply their answer to the Low Countries conflict.

We have already seen that at the beginning of the seventeenth century many authors considered the 'right' interpretation of the past as a prerequisite for being a patriot. To illustrate this point further, François Vranck wrote in 1618 about his surprise that Haraeus, who was a 'Netherlander born in Utrecht has not spared himself from being the first among our nation who has so shamefully rejected the virtue and loyalty he owes to his fatherland.'[174] He considered Haraeus to be a 'renegade' bent on damaging his 'fatherland'. Taking a legal approach to the subject matter, Vranck rejected Haraeus' claim that the strict implementation of the placards against heresy was in line with tradition. He argued that if the natural lord broke the customary contract with his subjects, he would forfeit his right to rule. And this, Vranck clarified, was exactly what Philip II had done when he flouted local privileges. The right to rebel was an important topic on which Northern and Southern authors could not agree. Southerners stressed the legitimacy of the reign of the Habsburgs to justify their own position as subjects of the archdukes, whilst Northerners

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den voorschreven Lande gebruyckt (Rotterdam: Matthijs Bastiaensz, 1587), François Vranck argued that the United Provinces were entitled to rebel in protection of their privileges.

171 Haraeus, *Onpartijdighe verclaringhe*, pp. 18–20.

172 Ibid., p. 14: 'als ofmen daer en tusschen de Gemeinte soude gelaten hebben als een peerd sonder tome / ofte cleyne kinderen sonder roede'.

173 Ibid., p. 21: 'Het is een general Verbodt in alle geregeleerde kinderscholen op de pene vande roede / dat geen Schoolkinders in den Winter mogen op het ys loopen / noch somers in diepe wateren bayen / te weten om de periculen van verdrincken'.

174 Vranck, *Wederlegghinghe*, f. biv: ende is te verwonderen dat desen Nederlander van Uytrecht gheboren / hem niet ontsien en heeft / d'eerste onder onse Natie te wese die de eerbaerheyt ende trouwe die hy sijn Vaderlant schuldich is / soo onbeschaemdelijck heeft verworpen'.

claimed the right to abjure their sovereign lord: otherwise their acts of rebellion would have been unwarranted. Thus Thomas Sailly emphasised several times Archduke Albert's status as the '*natural* [italics inserted] and supreme prince and lord of the Netherlands,' whereas the *Mirror of Youth* underlined that the prince was there to serve his people, and not the other way round. When the prince violated his duty, he could be considered a tyrant and be deposed.[175] And this position can be observed in other texts as well. Johannes Gysius felt the Spanish government caused the troubles by ignoring local privileges and, especially, by introducing the Spanish inquisition in the Low Countries.[176] Pieter Bor added that the blood shed for the sake of religion had only aggravated the problem.[177]

Conclusion

In spite of the mutual denunciation, authors continued to strive for reunification. In the South authors expressed the intention of trying to win over the Northerners to their cause. This desire seems incompatible with their condemnation of all 'Hollanders'. Vincent van Zuilen has demonstrated that the 'paradox in Habsburg policy to unify the Netherlands by emphasising the moral differences—through the systematic denunciation of the rebels in official state publications—was clearly unintended.'[178] Although Southern propagandists theoretically distinguished between evil Hollanders and good Netherlanders under the heretical yoke of the Northern States, North and South became gradually more clueless as to how to appeal to each other's populations.

Authors in the South emphasised continuity, for instance by pretending that the succession of Albert and Isabella was a normal dynastic transition or by framing heretics as evil outsiders and the Southern population as good Catholics who were briefly deceived but who were 'now' once again back on the right track. When the Revolt could not be ignored it was framed as a triumph of the Catholic faith over heretics, who were characterised as 'Hollanders' even though they were often born-and-bred Flemings or Walloons and despite the

175 Sailly, *Den Nievwen Morghen-vvecker*, pp. 80, 121; *Spieghel der Ievght*, ff. g7r–v.

176 Gysius, *De Oorsprong en Voortgang*, ff. 3r–v, pp. 3–9.

177 Bor, *Den Oorspronck*, p. 7.

178 Vincent van Zuilen, 'The Politics of Dividing the Nation? News Pamhplets as a Vehicle of Ideology and National Consciousness in the Habsburg Netherlands (1585–1609),' in: J.W. Koopmans, ed., *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), p. 67.

fact that many Southern cities had once been cradles of heresy. Tales about 'political' miracles and other signs of sacred support for the Catholic-Habsburg cause were often disguised references to the troubled past.[179]

Northern anti-peace propagandists successfully framed the conflict not as a rebellion against their rightful overlord but as a war against Spain and a foreign and tyrannical king who, they argued, had violated their privileges and had allowed or even ordered his soldiers to commit terrible crimes. Authors presented commemoration as a condition to be a true Netherlander, a sense of identity that authors claimed was being threatened by the Spanish enemy. Gysius argued that Philip II had ordered the execution of major nobles, such as Egmont and Horne, 'so that the Netherlanders would no longer have anyone, who could speak or plead on their behalf'.[180] For those who sought to mobilise inhabitants of the Republic for a particular political aim, such as the continuation of the war against the Spanish king, appealing to public memories of the Revolt was a good way to reach out to the population of the entire Union. In this regard it is striking that although the observations about the South in this chapter might lead us to expect that a counter-canon should have developed in the North in which all things Catholic were demonised and that government and church authorities were to play a central role in communicating a flattering interpretation of the past, this is not what happened. The state was not the most prolific agent of memories about the origins of the conflict. Furthermore, I do not wish to deny that specific Catholic, Reformed, Anabaptist, and Lutheran memory cultures developed in the Republic. Historians have shown that they did.[181] Yet, this chapter has demonstrated that to mobilise as many potential supporters of the Revolt as possible, even orthodox-Calvinist ministers such as Baudartius did not in the first place resort to anti-Catholic propaganda.

This chapter ends with two different canonical narratives about the history of the Revolt of the Netherlands. A coherent story did not arise organically in the passing of time, and its development was far from self-explanatory. Not all 'important' events made it into the canonical narratives: only those things that people considered important or, to be more precise, useful for their contemporary political contexts entered the commonplace stories about the Revolt.

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179 J. Andriessen, *De Jezuieten en het samenhorigheidsbesef der Nederlanden, 1585–1648* (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1957), pp. 163–165; Pollmann, 'Brabanters', pp. 224–227.

180 Gysius, *De Oorsprong en Voortgang*, f. *3v: 'op dat de Nederlanders niemant meer en souden moghen hebben / die voor haer soude moghen spreecken / ofte suppliceren.'

181 See Judith Pollmann, 'Met grootvaders bloed bezegeld. Over religie en herinneringscultuur in de zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlanden', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29:2 (2013), p. 174.

At first, the canons seemed to be self-supporting. Southerners discussed the past, or at least so they claimed, to respond to Northern slander,[182] whereas Northerners often declared their accounts to be inspired by the falsehoods spread on behalf of the Southern pro-Habsburg lobby.[183] Yet, in the following chapters we will see that these historical narratives ultimately survived because people found them useful in serving new political functions.

182 See, for example, Sailly, *Den Nievwen Morghen-VVecker*, f. 2v: the Hollanders stir trouble 'by evil and useless booklets, spread from all sides' ['quade ende onnuttighe boecken, die t'allen canten vvorden ghesaeydt'], aimed at destroying the Catholic Church.

183 See, for example, Vranck, *Wederlegghinghe*, f. b2r: Vranck rejected Haraeus as the 'most partial, unfaithful and fiercest enemy of the truth as ever there was' ['alder partijdichsten / ongetroutsten ende meesten vyant vande waerheyt die oyt was'].

CHAPTER 3

Dynastic Identity and the Revolt

Cultural historians such as Kevin Sharpe have argued that in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe the public 'image' of ruling dynasties became increasingly important.[1] A quintessential characteristic of early modern dynastic image-making was the creation of an appearance of permanence, of 'having always been there'. Thus, the exercise of dynastic power, Sharpe demonstrates, was 'inextricably connected to cultural memory'.[2] In the Southern Netherlands, however, memories of the Revolt seriously undermined Habsburg efforts of constructing an image of dynastic continuity. It was difficult to forget the Revolt because the conflict with the North was still going on and required an active response. And, as this chapter will argue, in order to forget a certain past, one first had to specify what needed to be forgotten.[3] The study of dynastic memory-making in the Southern Netherlands is also interesting because the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in many ways set the example in Counter-Reformation Europe, using persuasion rather than violence to recatholicise the population. The Southern government was one of the first to successfully set straight the damage inflicted upon church and dynasty by the Reformation and the Revolt. Regions dealing with similar problems, such as Bohemia and south-western Germany, in later periods adopted strikingly similar solutions.[4]

Unlike the Habsburgs, members of the house of Orange in the North needed to celebrate the Revolt as a break with the past in order to justify their privileged status as stadholders. The cultivation of a popular image of William I as *pater patriae* and liberator from Spanish aggression provided subsequent princes of Orange with a narrative that could be used to justify their leading role in Dutch politics. Hence, the Oranges and their adherents became the most important and influential proponents of memories of the Dutch Revolt.

1 Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

2 Ibid., p. 12.

3 A point also made by: Diane C. Margolf, 'Adjudicating Memory: Law and Religious Difference in Early Seventeenth-Century France', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27:2 (1996), pp. 399–404; and: Ross Poole, 'Enacting Oblivion', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 22:2 (2009), pp. 149–158.

4 Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*; Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

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Still, they faced two problems. Firstly, their ambitions for hereditary Orange rule contradicted the way they had risen to power, namely by toppling another dynasty, and, secondly, these ambitions could seem at odds with the republican constitution of the United Provinces.[5]

This chapter will examine how the South Netherlandish branch of the Habsburg dynasty in the Southern Netherlands and the house of Orange in the Dutch Republic dealt with the problem of constructing an image of dynastic continuity in a time of political turmoil and how they to used memories of the Revolt to camouflage political reality.

Oblivion and Dynastic Reconstruction

One of the main grievances of the rebels in the 1560s had been the absence of their prince. Both nobles and urban elites resented being ruled by advisors, such as Granvelle and Alba, who lacked natural affection for the country.[6] Philip II eventually came up with a dynastic solution to the problem by giving the Netherlands as a dowry to his daughter Infanta Isabella. From 1598, when the Cession took place, Isabella and her husband Archduke Albert ruled the Low Countries as joint sovereigns.[7] In the following section I will explain how Habsburg princes and their supporters deployed the past, first to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Cession of 1598, secondly to bind indigenous elites to their cause, and finally to restore the bonds between the dynasty and South Netherlandish Catholicism.

Cession of 1598

At the festivities in celebration of the Act of Cession on 21 August 1598 in Brussels, the chief-president of the Privy Council Jean Richardot gave a speech at a meeting of the States General in the Great Hall of the Coudenberg Palace in which he stressed the historical significance of the Cession. The speech reveals how a high government official summarised the history of the Low Countries for a live audience. Richardot concentrated on transitions of power and especially the transition in 1555, when Philip II took over from his father, the emperor. 'In two months and four days, it will be forty-three years ago,' he reminded his audience, 'that in this place where we are now, some of you have

5 Jill Stern has already shown how supporters of the house of Orange could circumvent this problem with little difficulty: Stern, *Orangism*, pp. 201–204.

6 Groenveld et al., *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog*, pp. 73–101; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 145–146.

7 Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, pp. 36–56.

witnessed and others' fathers or ancestors have witnessed, this great Emperor Charles V [...] cede these lands to King Philip his son.'[8] The chief-president thus drew a parallel between the abdication of Charles V in 1555 and the Cession of 1598. He told the States General that before Charles V left the country in 1555 he had 'commended you to his son, and his son to you', but 'above all', the emperor had recommended to Philip 'the conservation of our holy Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion.'[9] Philip took his task very seriously, and after the departure of his father he achieved two important successes in the war against France: the battles of St Quentin in 1557 and of Gravelines in 1558, which enabled him to conclude the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. That year, Philip II departed for Spain.

Although Philip II had made sure that he left his Low Countries in good order, Richardot claimed, soon after his departure 'a tiny spark shot in our house, to which people did not pay attention and which unexpectedly produced a flame that laid all of us in ashes: I mean that cursed and lamentable civil war, which has sucked all the blood from our veins'.[10] The king had planned to return to the Netherlands to restore order, but his advisors convinced him that the troubles were not so serious. 'O counsels of men!', Richardot called out, 'what great evil you have done to us, by not considering what a kind wink from our master could have done for our conservation!'[11] When it did become apparent to King Philip that the troubles threatened Habsburg rule in the Low Countries, he did everything in his power to restore order. It was also for this reason, for the commonwealth, that the king 'decided [...] to marry the Infanta his beloved daughter to the lord the archduke Albert, and to give her as a dowry these Low Countries'.[12] Richardot's rhetorical strategy was obviously

8 Anonymous, 'Relation des cérémonies célébrées à Bruxelles [...] pour la cession des Pays-Bas', KBR manuscript 13485, f. 7v: 'Deans deux mois et quattre jours, il y aura quarante trois ans, qu'en la mesme place où nous sommes, et où aulcuns de vous auront assisté, et les autres l'auront oy de leurs peres et devanchiers, ce grand Empereur Charles le quint [...] cede ces pays au roy don Philippe son filz'.

9 Ibid., f. 8r: "il vous recommanda à son filz, et luy à vous, mais sur tout [...]la conservation de nostre saincte Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine'.

10 Ibid., f. 8v: 'une petite estincelle qui s'elance en nostre maison, à laquelle l'on ne print garde, et de laquelle, à l'improviste, est sortie une flamme qui nous a tous reduict en cendres; je diz ceste mauldicte et luctueuse guerre intestine, qui nous a succé tout le sang de nos vaines'.

11 Ibid., ff. 8v–9r: 'O conseilz des hommes! [...] quel grand mal nous avez vous faict, pour ne là bien considerer qu'une oeillade de nostre maistre nous pouvoit à tous conserver!'.

12 Ibid., f. 9r: 'marier la serenissme infante la tres chere fille avecq monsieur l'archiducq Albert, et luy donner en dot ces pays bas'.

to focus on Charles V and on Philip following in his father's footsteps, emphasising that the son was being driven by the same motives as his father, who had by 1598 acquired mythical status and who symbolised an idealised period of calm before the Revolt.[13] Philip's reign, between 1555 and 1598, was thus characterised by dynastic continuity, just like the succession by the archdukes. A month after Richardot's speech, Philip II died. One of the funerary orations in his honour further illustrates how Habsburg propagandists sought to foster a semblance of dynastic continuity. The eulogy was pronounced by the French priest and exiled member of the Catholic League Jean Boucher (1548–1644) on 26 October in the Notre Dame church in Tournai. The loyalist printer Rutger Velpius printed the text in Brussels. Boucher addressed the archdukes and portrayed the father of Archduchess Isabella as 'the saviour of the Catholics, the enemy of the heretics, the terror of the infidels and the support of the afflicted'.[14]

Apologists for the dynasty, like Boucher, argued that Philip II had carried a great burden, protecting his subjects from foreign threats and, most importantly, from heretics and unbelievers. That was not a simple task in an empire where, as Boucher using a contemporary commonplace remarked, 'there is no hour neither in the day nor during the night that the sun does not radiate over these lands'.[15] King Philip had to cope with religious deviants from all sides of the Habsburg lands: Muslims in the East, Moors in the South and Protestants in the North. One example was the victory—'so memorable'—at Lepanto in 1571. In the previous chapter we have seen how this naval encounter between the Spanish, led by Don John of Austria, and the Ottomans became emblematic for the Habsburg defense of European Christendom. In this light, the Revolt was to be regretted all the more, argued Boucher, because it deprived Christians of the possibility to unite and fight against a common enemy such as the Turks. Despite being 'the best king of the earth', Philip was also 'the worst treated by all'.[16] Boucher invoked the Revolt to make his point:

> Above all [there was] the indignity of all insurrections, troubles and rebellions, the calumnies and disgraces, the blasphemes and outrages,

13 Karel Degryse, 'De Antwerpse nazomer', in: Paul Janssens, ed., *België in de 17de eeuw* (Gent: Snoeck, 2006), p. 132.

14 Jean Boucher, *Oraison funebre, sur le trepas de tres-hault, tres grand et tres puissant Monarque don Philippe second de ce nom, Roy d'Espaigne &c* (Brussels: Rutger Velpius, 1599), b1v: 'le secours des catholiques, l'enemy des heretiques, la terreur des infidelles, le support des affligez'.

15 Ibid., f. b4r: 'il n'y a heure ny du iour ny de la nuit, que le soleil ne rayonne sur les terres'.

16 Ibid., f. d3r: 'Philip. le meilleur Roy de la terre, le plus mal traicté de tous'.

> the infidelities and the bad service [...] which the heresy, the atheism and the malice of those people (and God knows in how many sects) caused against him everywhere [...] Holland and Zeeland still show us the remains.[17]

After Philip II had given the Low Countries to his daughter Isabella and her husband Albert, the new rulers of the Habsburg Netherlands toured the country to be formally inaugurated in the most important cities. The cities usually organised great festivities and spectacles for the sovereigns and the inhabitants to enjoy. These ceremonies marked the transition from one ruler to the next, and they demonstrate very well how the past could be deployed to convey political messages, both by the dynastic rulers and by their subjects. For the new Southern regime, the ideal way of coping with the painful past was to present an unbroken continuity of church and dynasty, and a population impervious to heresy and dissent. Margit Thøfner has rightly argued that the 'right' performance of the past in the Joyous Entries of 1599–1600 was an important means of lending legitimacy and authority to the new rulers.[18] At the Joyous Entry of Brussels, which took place at the beginning of September 1599, one of the great celebratory arches was decorated with a revealing painting by Hendrik de Clerck, only a preparatory study of which survives to the present day (Figure 8). De Clerck's work impressed Antwerp secretary Johannes Bochius, who described it in his monumental account of the ceremonies.[19] On the left hand, and recognisable by their coats of arms, ten virgins (personifying the Habsburg Netherlands) fight the seven rebellious provinces, also personified by virgins. Bochius noted that in the middle, a personification of all provinces was shedding tears over the civil conflict. But the darkest hour is just before the dawn: from the sky God sends the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, holding olive branches, to the Low Countries to bring peace.

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17 Ibid., ff. d3r, f1r: 'Mais sur tout l'indignité de tant de souleuements, de troubles & rebellions, de calomnies & opprobres, de blasphemes & oultrages, d'infidelitez & desservices [...] que l'heresie, l'atheisme, & la malice de ce monde (& Dieu sçait en combien de sortes) luy a suscité par tout [...] la Holande & la Zelande nous font encore veoir des reste'.

18 Thøfner, *A Common Art*, pp. 199–225.

19 Johannes Bochius, *Historica narratio profectionis et inavgvrationis serenissimorvm Belgii principvm Alberti et Isabellæ, Avstriæ archidvcvm* (Antwerp: ex officina Plantiniana, apvd Ioannem Moretvm, 1602), p. 116; his account enabled scholars to link he lost painting to the surviving preparatory drawing: Elizabeth McGrath, 'An Allegory of the Netherlandish War by Hendrik de Clerck', *Rubens and his World: Bijdragen—Etudes—Studies—Beiträge* (Antwerp: Het Gulden Cabinet, 1985), pp. 77–81.

FIGURE 8 *Hendrik de Clerck, An Allegory of the Netherlandish War (c. 1599), Hermitage, St Petersburg, GE-15123.*

Southern authorities reminded Albert and Isabella that they were inaugurated as rightful lords of the Netherlands in line with custom and tradition. In front of the ducal palace in Brussels, for example, a multi-storey arch portrayed the ancestors of Albert and Isabella, suggesting an unbroken dynastic succession. Bochius provides us with a description of what the arch must have looked like. On the highest level stood the first Habsburg king of Castile, Philip the Fair, together with his wife Joanna of Castile. Beneath them, Philip's parents Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy adorned the arch. The third storey featured Charles V and his wife Isabella of Portugal. Effigies of their child Philip II and his spouse Isabella of Valois were erected on the second level. On the ground level of the portal, on each side, stood Albert and Isabella.[20] The Joyous Entries were an opportunity for the local authorities to show that they considered the archdukes as lawful successors of the houses of Burgundy and Austria which had for centuries ruled important parts of the Netherlandish territories.

20 Bochius, *Historica narratio*, pp. 118–119; see for a more detailed description of Bochius' account: Thøfner, *A Common Art*, p. 204.

Yet, apart from extolling the virtues of the archdukes and stressing continuity, the Joyous Entries also served as the performance of a wish list, expressing the expectation that the archdukes would turn the tide in the war-stricken land.[21] In February 1600, the archdukes attended a play during the festivities in Tournai, entitled 'The Ancient Netherlandish Privileges Restored by Albert and Isabella of Austria' ['Antiqua Belgii Libertas per Austriacos Albertum et Isabellam restituta']. Addressing Isabella as the daughter of the Philip II and Albert as the brother of Rudolf II, the Holy Roman Emperor, the performers voiced their expectation that the new sovereigns would restore local privileges and bring peace.[22] Such an example reveals that the Joyous Entry was not a one-way communication but a reciprocal affair.[23] That the archdukes also understood this situation is evident from Isabella's account of some of her experiences during the entries. Isabella kept a travel diary during the festivities to keep her brother Philip III of Spain informed. Along the route in between the cities, the population shouted 'Long live the dukes of Brabant, who come among us!'.[24] Isabella noted that 'even the old men and women wept with joy'.[25] Once the archducal couple reached Brussels they entered the city on two white jennets because, Isabella explained, 'a very old prophesy told that as long as two sovereigns are not welcomed on white horses there will be no peace, and people attach much credence to it'.[26] Similarly, in Ghent—where the archdukes were inaugurated as count and countess of Flanders—the abbot of St Pierre offered the sword of the ninth-century count Baldwin I of Flanders not to Albert but to Isabella. About this scene, she wrote that 'there was no other solution than to accept it and then, as I commanded him, he gave it to my cousin'.[27]

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21 Thøfner, *A Common Art*, pp. 56–57.

22 Andriessen, *De Jezuieten*, pp. 204–205: 'Antiqua Belgii Libertas per Austriacos Albertum et Isabellam restituta'.

23 As has been shown by Thøfner, *A Common Art*, pp. 216–217.

24 Charles Terlinden, *l'Archiduchesse Isabelle* (Brussels: La renaissance du livre, 1943), p. 53; also cited in: Francis van Noten, 'The horses of Albert and Isabella: historical background', in: Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo, eds., *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 344.

25 Terlinden, *l'Archiduchesse*, p. 53: 'même les vieux et les vieilles pleuraient de joie'.

26 Ibid., p. 55: 'une prophétie fort ancienne disait que, tant que deux souverains ne seraient pas entrés à Bruxelles sur des chevaux blancs, on n'auraient pas la paix et l'on attache ici beaucoup de créance'.

27 Ibid., p. 57: 'il n'y a avait d'autre remède que de l'accepter pour qu'ensuite, comme je le lui commandai, il la mît à mon cousin'.

This last example illustrates that the succession of Albert and Isabella was not so much an example of dynastic continuity as it was the product of a political intervention. Philip II ceded his Netherlands to the detriment of his son Philip III and as a dynastic re-adjustment to political reality. Albert was by birth not entitled to be the sovereign of the Low Countries, something which Netherlanders knew quite well.[28] Antwerp publisher Johannes Moretus republished Adrianus Barlandus' *Chronicle of the Dukes of Brabant* in 1600, in which he included Archdukes Albert and Isabella as Philip II's successors.[29] In the dedication to Albert and Isabella (in the French edition), the publisher Jean Baptiste Vrients explained the relevance of this work to the archdukes: 'Serene highnesses, he who will take away from women their mirrors and give to princes the mirror of history to study, in so doing will make a great difference in a short time'. According to Vrients, the princely use of the past as a source of examples would be 'very healthy for humankind'.[30] He did mention the extraordinary character of the succession: 'God has chosen you miraculously to command the Low Countries, and particularly the duchy of Brabant, and he expressly dismembered them from the crown of Spain, against all custom and expectation of men, to give them as a dowry to madame the most serene Infanta'.[31] Vrients wrote that

> he has thought that it would be his duty, as a humble recognition of your new princedom, to offer to you who are duke and duchess of Brabant, the history of Brabant, and representing to you the government of your predecessors [. . .] so that you can see the manner in which people have been ruled and governed in this province. And because Latin is not understood by all, I have found it a good thing to make a translation into French so that it may be understood by everyone.[32]

28 Thøfner, *A Common Art*, pp. 203–208.

29 Hadrianus Barlandus, *Dvcvm Brabantiae chronica* (Antwerp: in officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1600), p. 179.

30 Adrian Barlande, *Chroniques des ducs de Brabant* (Antwerp: Iean Baptist Vrints, 1603), f. *2r: 'Qui osteroit aux femmes leurs miroirs, Altesses Serenissimes, & donneroit aux Princes le mirroir de l'Histoire pour l'estudier, cestuilà feroit de grands remuemens en peu de temps'; 'grandement salubre au genre human'.

31 Ibid., f. **3v: 'Dieu non sans mervueille vous avoit choisis pour commander aux Païs-bas, & particulièrement au Duché de Brabant, & qu'expressement il les avoit demembrez de la couronne d'Espagne, voire contre toute coustume & expectation des hommes, pour les donner en dot à Madame l'Infante Serenissime'.

32 Ibid., ff. **3v–**4r: 'il a pensé que ce seroit son devoir, pour une humble reconoissance de vostre nouvelle principauté, à vous qui estes Duchesse & Duc de Brabant vous offrir

Other South Netherlandish publications about the Habsburg lineage around 1600 demonstrate in a similar way the importance supporters of the dynasty attached to dynastic descent and how they camouflaged the discontinuity in the succession of the archdukes. New editions of previously published genealogy books, for instance, served to show that the succession of Albert and Isabella was in line with tradition. In the 1598 edition of *Genealogies and Ancient Descents of the Forestiers and Counts of Flanders* [*Les genealogies et anciennes descentes des forestiers et comtes de Flandre*], the succession was traced from Lideric the first forestier of Flanders to the thirty-third count: Philip II of Spain.[33] A few years later, in 1608, a new edition included Albert and Isabella as the thirty-fourth (joint) counts of Flanders, with information on Albert's recent military victories against the rebels of the Dutch Republic, including the capture of Hulst and Ostend.[34] Also in Brabant, the dissemination of an image of dynastic continuity seems to confirm that the archdukes as well as the local population found ways to argue around the fact that the line of succession had been interrupted. The government of the city of Antwerp for instance ordered twenty-five portraits of past dukes of Brabant including Albert and Isabella as successors of Philip II.[35]

Bonding with Indigenous Elites

The examples above show that the archdukes were both agents and objects of dynastic image-making around 1600. Once they were formally inaugurated, one strategy of making their reign successful was to bind Netherlandish elites to their cause. At the beginning of their reign, for instance, Albert and Isabella rewarded those who had remained loyal and 'constant' in times of trouble by ennobling them.[36] Loyal behaviour during the Revolt had been an important reason for ennoblement in the past. Philip II, for example, in 1589 had ennobled

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l'histoire de Brabant, & vous representant le gouvernement de vos predecesseurs [...] où vous peussiez voir la maniere don't on a regi & gouverné ceste province. Et pour-ce que le Latin n'est de tous entendu, i'ay trouvé bon de le faire, traduire en François, à fin qu'il peut estre entendu de tous.'

33 Cornelis Martin and Pierre Balthasar, *Les genealogies et anciennes descentes des forestiers et comtes de Flandre, avec brieves descriptions de levrs vies et gestes. Le tovt recveilly des plvs veritables, approvees et anciennes croniqves et annales qvi se trouvent* (Antwerp: Iean Baptist Vrints, 1598).

34 Martin, De Costere and Vrients, *Les genealogies*, p. 120.

35 Floris Prims, *Het stadhuis te Antwerpen. Geschiedenis en beschrijving* (Antwerp: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1930), pp. 34–35.

36 See for instance: anonymous, *Cort |ende warachtich verhael vande incomste des eert-shartoch Albertus, met de infante van Spaengien syn huysvrouwe: ende hare huldinghe*

the brothers and sisters of Balthasar Gérard, the assassin of the outlawed prince William of Orange.[37] Ennoblement was rarely the automatic result of special loyal conduct, however, because aspiring nobles needed to make a formal request. Parma had written to Philip on 20 February 1586 that the Gérard family expected to be recompensed and they wanted the people 'to honour the memory of the deceased [Balthasar Gérard]'.[38] He added that the family's request was 'very just and very equitable and deserves to be complied with and satisfied for several reasons'.[39] The first of these was, simply, that Philip II had promised recompense when he outlawed William of Orange. Secondly, Gérard had assassinated the prince knowing full well he risked imprisonment and execution. A third consideration for Parma was that Gérard had 'undergone with such constancy his passion and death that it is known to all the world'.[40] Fourthly, a reward would console his 'poor and desolate mother'.[41] On 4 March 1589, therefore, Philip II issued letters patent conferring nobility.[42] The letters patent also conferred a coat of arms on the new noble house of Gérard, and it was described as a lion parted per bend sinister, a line going from the upper right hand corner to the lower left corner, thus breaking the shield—and the lion—in two. In his claw, the lion holds Jupiter's bolt of lightning. The separation of the lion might refer to the divided North and South, and no doubt the bolt of lightning stands for God's revenge.[43]

An important consideration for the new rulers in rewarding local Netherlanders was that to favour Spaniards might alienate the indigenous population. This is probably why Albert, while still a cardinal-archbishop, at the time of his arrival as governor in 1596 made sure that in addition to his Spanish entourage he appointed major Netherlandish nobles as gentlemen of the chamber, such

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in diversche steden, als hertoghe ende hertoghinne van Brabant (Delft: Jacob Cornelisz Vennecool, 1600), ff. 2r–v.

37 Luc Duerloo, ed., *Wapenboek van de Belgische adel* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1992–1994), pp. 786–787.

38 Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma to Philip II, 20 February 1586, in: *Correspondance de Guilaume le Taciturne* VI, edited by Gachard, p. 221: 'honorer la mémoire dudict feu'.

39 Ibid., p. 221: 'très-juste et très-équitable, et digne d'estre furny et accomply, pour plusieurs respects'.

40 Ibid.: 'il a usé d'une telle constance en sa passion et mort, qu'elle est admirable à tout le monde'.

41 Ibid.: 'pauvre et désolée mère'.

42 'Lettres patentes de Philippe II qui anoblissent les frères et soeurs de Balthazar Gérard et leurs enfants et descendants à perpétuité' in: ibid., pp. 226–231.

43 Luc Duerloo, 'Het blazoen ontsmet. Adellijke heraldiek als toe-eigening van eer en deugd, 1550–1750', *BMGN* 123:4 (2008), pp. 647–648.

as the counts of Egmont and Ligne, and the prince-count of Arenberg.[44] Albert and Isabella devoted special attention to winning sympathy and respect from the indigenous nobility and were eager to show they did not hold grudges. Dries Raeymaekers studied archducal household appointments and discovered that although the archdukes favoured courtiers from a loyal background, they were also prepared to forgive people whose lineage was stained by heresy and insurgency. Count Charles of Egmont, the son of the excuted Count Lamoral, and Pierre de Melun, prince of Épinoy, whose father died a notorious rebel, were honoured with positions in the household.[45]

Local officials, too, wanted to show their new rulers that they were trustworthy subjects. Several magistrates submitted requests in which they outlined why they should be granted noble titles. The language of these requests shows what arguments petitioners expected their sovereigns would find valid. But something peculiar happened in this process of replicating the regime's viewpoints. One of the most important requirements for ennoblement was a record of faithful service to the dynasty and the church.[46] Petitioners therefore moulded their own story to the 'official' history, stressing their loyalty to Habsburg and to the Church of Rome. War invalid Henri de Pierrefontenne wrote that for the last hundred years and more he and his family 'had employed their goods and means for the defence of the dukes and counts of Burgundy in the wars of Italy, Germany and Flanders.'[47] Not only did he serve the Habsburgs in the war against the Dutch rebels, his family had also provided faithful service to the natural lords of the previous legitimate dynasty. Since all petitioners wanted to make clear they had been most loyal when others had failed to be so, and most Catholic when others had been tempted by heretics, the requests show that memories of the troubled past existed side-by-side with official policies of suppressing the history of the Revolt. Antwerp city counsellor Lancelot T'Seraerts, for example, championed his father's faithful service to Habsburg, 'having also acquitted himself well during the time of the lord the duke of Alba, then governor of the land'.[48] This was a period that the central

44 Dries Raeymaekers, " 'Siempre un pie en palacio': Het hof en de hofhouding van de aartshertogen Albert en Isabella, 1598–1621' " (Antwerp, 2009), unpublished PhD dissertation, pp. 186–188.

45 Ibid., pp. 207–208.

46 Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels (ARA), Raad van State en Audiëntie (RSA), inv. 883, f. 32r.

47 Ibid., f. 193r: 'passes cent ans et plus ont employes leurs biens et leurs moyens a la deffence des ducs et contese de lady Bourgongne es guerres d'Italir d'Allemagne et de Flandre'.

48 Ibid., f. 16r: 'le suppt qui s'en est aussy bien acquité du temps de seigneur le Duc d'Alve lors gouverneur du pays'.

government wished to forget but which offered T'Seraerts the opportunity of embellishing his family record. Even in the hardest of times he and his family had remained loyal. Another example is Leon de Harchies, who took pride in himself and his father, being 'always constant,' having defended the 'holy Roman Catholic faith and served the party of his majesty against his heretical and rebellious subjects.'[49] Petitioners were reluctant to detail the religious turmoil of the 1560s–80s, but they did not abstain from mentioning it when it strengthened their argument. Another petitioner, for instance, bolstered his record of service to church and dynasty by claiming to have resisted the heretics 'during all the troubles since the year 1566.'[50] Exiles from the North also qualified for ennoblement. Pierre Vlaminck from Oudshoorn in Holland wrote in his request that due to the war, he was compelled to give up his commercial activities. The apostille of his request states the ultimate reason for his ennoblement: that 'he has chosen voluntarily to live in obedience to [the Roman Catholic Church and the Habsburg dynasty]'.[51]

Why did these people use a past that authorities had declared taboo and that historians almost dared not touch? Marianne Eekhout has recently shown that local communities kept alive memories of the Revolt, not only in historical texts but also in commemorative objects, rituals and ceremonies.[52] So although on a national level it was difficult to discuss the Revolt, locally the petitioners dealt with in this chapter had plenty of opportunities to learn about the Revolt and to argue their case before government authorities with references to the conflict. Furthermore, Erika Kuijpers has demonstrated that personal memories developed often in interaction with public practices of memory but also had a dynamic of their own: memories could circulate in families for decades before entering public memory.[53] Eekhout and Kuijpers' studies hence confirm that historiography is not the only genre sources to study memories of conflict situations and that early modern Netherlanders acquired information about the Revolt in other ways, too.

49 Ibid., f. 18r: 'servij la partie de Sa Ma(te) contre ses subiects heretiques et rebelles'.

50 Ibid., f. 244r: 'durant tous les troubles depuis l'an 1566'.

51 ARA, RSA, inv. 886, 506r: "il a volontairement choisy pour vivre en l'obeissance'.

52 Eekhout, *Material Memories*, pp. 115–145.

53 Erika Kuijpers, 'Between storytelling and patriotic scripture: the memory brokers of the Dutch Revolt' in: Erika Kuijpers et al., eds., *Memory Before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013), pp. 183–202.

Dynastic Piety

Apart from tying indigenous elites to the dynasty, the joint overlords of the Low Countries tried to consolidate and enlarge their power base by propagating what historians call a distinct *Pietas Austriaca*.[54] The archdukes' cultivation of an image of being pious rulers contributed to the Catholic Revival in the Southern Netherlands. It was both a reaction to dangers of heresy in the recent past as well as an old Habsburg tradition. Archducal piety, then, was a practice of memory. In his *Reason of State* (1589), Giovanni Botero explained why princes ought to be pious. He wrote that, generally,

> The prince must prostrate himself in all humility before the divine majesty and acknowledge that from Him proceed the power of a ruler and the obedience of his subjects. The higher he is raised above his fellows, the lower he should abase himself in the face of God.[55]

All early modern dynasties in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe interwove their dynastic and religious aspirations, but the Habsburgs developed a particularly strong tradition of piety that cadet branches used throughout the Habsburg world. They traced this tradition of dynastic piety back to the first Habsburg king of the Romans, Count Rudolf I of Habsburg (1218–1291). According to legend, Rudolf was hunting in the woods on a rainy day and met a priest carrying the viaticum—the last Eucharist—to a dying person. Botero ascribed the political successes of the Habsburg dynasty to this encounter:

> The greatness of the ruling house of Austria has its origins in piety, for we read that one day Count Rudolf of Habsburg was hunting in a heavy rainstorm when he met a priest walking alone, and when he asked him where he was going and why he was travelling in such bad weather, the priest replied that he was taking the Sacrament to a sick man. Rudolf dismounted at once, and humbly making obeisance to Jesus Christ in the species and form of bread, he laid his cloak over the priest's shoulders to give him more protection against the rain and so that the Host should be carried with more dignity. The good priest, wondering at the courtesy and piety of the count, gave him eternal thanks and prayed that the divine majesty would reward him from the abundance of His grace. A miracle

54 See Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca: Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1982); for the Habsburg Netherlands, see: Duerloo, 'Pietas Albertina'.

55 Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, edited and translated by P.J. Waley and D.P. Waley (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), p. 63.

> followed: soon afterwards Rudolf became emperor, and his descendants were archdukes of Austria, rulers of the Low Countries, kings of Spain and sovereigns of the New World, lords over innumerable states and immense territories.[56]

On the basis of accounts such as Botero's, María José del Río Barredo has argued convincingly that the Viaticum myth gained new relevance from around 1600 onwards when Habsburg scions used it to demonstrate that religion was the basis for their authority.[57] Philip II used the legend in his instructions to Philip III and told his son that Rudolf actually gave his horse to the priest as a magnanimous demonstration of his devotion.[58] Pieter Paul Rubens and Jan Wildens painted *The Act of Devotion of Rudolf I of Habsburg* (1618–1620), which adorned the apartments of Philip IV in the Madrid Alcazar and is currently part of the Prado Museum's collection.[59] In a Netherlandish setting, the canon of the St Gudula Church in Brussels, Etienne Ydens, in his history of the Sacrament of Miracle praised Isabella's piety 'in which your highness follows the traces of her very virtuous ancestors'.[60] Ydens continued by telling the story of Rudolf who waited for the Eucharist to be administered and then 'he brought back the same priest in similar fashion up to the church where he came from'.[61] The legend of the Viaticum illustrated a genealogy in celebration of the house of Habsburg by Théodore Piespordius published in Brussels in 1616 (Figure 9).[62] The legend was also part of the third centenary of the Holy Sacrament of Miracle in 1670. During the celebratory procession in Brussels,

56 Ibid., pp. 64–65.

57 María José del Rio Barredo, 'Rituals of the Viaticum: Dynasty and Community in Habsburg Madrid', in: Melissa Calaresu et al., eds., *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 57.

58 Ibid., pp. 57–58.

59 Ibid., p. 64.

60 Ydens, *Histoire dv S. sacrement de miracle*, f. *6v: 'En quoy vostre Altesse suict les traces de ses vertueux Ancestres'.

61 Ibid., f. 7r: 'il reconvoya le mesme Prestre en semblable façon jusques a l'Eglise, don't il estoit sorty'.

62 Théodore Piespordius, *Serenissimorvm Potentissimorvmqve Principvm Habsbvrgi-Avstriacorvm Stemma, Origo, Res Gestæ: Quatuor Schematibus à Pharamvndo Francorum Rege ad hæc vsque tempora deductæ ; Iconibus, Emblematibus, Insignibus illustratæ / Studio ac labore Theodorici Piespordii, Serenissimis Belgarum Principibus à Secretis* . . . (Brussels: s.n., 1616), schema IIII.

RVDOLPHVS
RVDOLPHVS ſub venationem ſacerdoti cum SS.
Synaxi ad ægrum quendam tendenti honorem defert
SS. Sacramentum pientiſſime veneratur, et ob idip-
ſum iam dictus ſacerdos, illi et poſteris, ſecundo Impe-
rium prædicit; quod tamen alij ad Sueuicam vatem refe-
runt. Vnde vnde prædictio, fidem res ab euentis habet.

FIGURE 9 *Rudolf I of Habsburg worships the viaticum, from: Théodore Piespordius,* Serenissimorvm Potentissimorvmqve Principvm Habsbvrgi-Avstriacorvm Stemma (*Brussels: s.n., 1616*), *Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Saxony-Anhalt.*

the scene was reenacted. It featured Count Rudolf as the pious founder of the Habsburg dynasty.[63]

As part of their public devotion, the archdukes carried out an extensive programme of religious and dynastic reconstruction, and pursued policies of healing the wounds of past upheaval. Jesuit Jean Chrysostome Bruslé de Montpleinchamp (1641–1724) published his biography of Albert in 1693 and noted about his protagonist that 'he turned all his cares towards piety, which he made his distinctive feature. The Mother of God had kept him tenderly

63 Jacques Stroobant, *Brusselsche eer-triumphen* [. . .] *met de vvaerachtighe beschrijvinge* [. . .] *van het dry hondert jarigh jubilé van het* [. . .] *H. sacrament van mirakelen* (Brussels: Peeter de Dobbeleer, 1670), p. 125.

to Her heart.'[64] Albert was protector of many religious orders. According to Montpleinchamp, he 're-established and enriched more than 300 churches destroyed or despoiled by heresy; he has laid the first stone of rich churches of Jesuits, Augustans, Discalced Carmelites, Minims, Annunciates and Carmelite Nuns in Brussels.'[65] Although Montpleinchamp wrote Albert's biography long after the archduke's death, he accurately described the reputation the archduke had acquired during his life. The Habsburg rulers in the Southern Netherlands attempted to revive Catholicism through the promotion of cults of saints, the patronage of new religious orders, and the veneration of relics.[66] This policy served to underline the sacredness, and therefore inherent legitimacy, of the monarchy. Furthermore, dynastic piety functioned as an example to the population of the way in which the true religion should be professed and was meant to contribute to the development of a religiously homogeneous society, which in turn would provide a broad base of support for the new regime of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella from 1598 onwards.[67]

Luc Duerloo and Marc Wingens observed that outside Brussels, the archdukes rebuilt the Catholic landscape by reviving and further developing pilgrimage in the Low Countries.[68] As a 'spiritual medicine for heretical poison'—a phrase of the Bavarian theologian Daniel Baradinus in his overview of pilgrimage in Bavaria, published in 1600[69]—pilgrimage was an important way of fostering new Catholic zeal in the South, and it served to integrate subjects in their local Catholic landscape. Our Lady of Halle is one example that was very popular with the archdukes. The Virgin had personally protected the city of Halle against the Calvinist enemy during the siege of 1580. Jesuit Adriaan Poirters wrote a book about the Virgin of Halle's miracles, which he first published in 1657. He delighted in the pilgrimage to Our Lady of Halle and the efforts by previous Habsburg rulers such as Maximilan I, Charles V and

64 Bruslé de Montpleinchamp, *L'Histoire de l'Archiduc Albert*, p. 337: 'il tourna tous ses soins vers la pieté, qui a fait son caractère distinctif. La Mere de Dieu lui avoit tenu tendrement au Coeur.'

65 Ibid., p. 357: 'Il a retabli & enrichi plus de 300 Eglises detruites ou depouillées de l'heresie; il a pose la premiere Pierre aux riches Eglises des Jesuites, des Augustins, des Carmes Deschaux, des Minimes, des Annonciates & des Carmelites de Brusselle'.

66 Duerloo, 'Pietas Albertina'.

67 Ibid., pp. 1–18.

68 Duerloo and Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel*, p. 28.

69 Philip M. Soergel, 'Spiritual Medicine for Heretical Poison: The Propagandistic Uses of Legends in Counter-Reformation Bavaria', *Historical Reflections* 17:2 (1991), p. 127; Daniel Baradinus, *Geistlich Artzney für Ketzergifft vnd jetziger zeit böse Lüfft* (München: Nicolaum Henricum, 1600).

Margaret of Parma to develop the cult. Philip II is conspicuously absent in Poirter's list.[70] Isabella was an avid pilgrim herself. Shortly after her Joyous Entry, she honoured the local shrine of Our Lady of Halle with a visit and gave a gown to the Virgin, something which she did more often on first visits to pilgrimage sites.[71] Archducal visits to Halle and Scherpenheuvel were an important part of the court calendar.[72]

Dynastic piety was undoubtedly inspired by genuine religious conviction, but Albert and Isabella clearly exploited it for political purposes by exhibiting their religiosity. In the 1620s, Isabella ordered a series of tapestries—one of the most prestigious art forms at court—to be made with the central theme of the Triumph of the Eucharist. One of those tapestries, designed by Rubens and produced by Jan II Raes, was entitled *The Defenders of the Eucharist.* It depicted seven saints: Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Clare, Thomas Aquinas, Norbert and Jerome. The image of St Clare bears such a striking resemblance to the archduchess that it seems very unlikely to be mere coincidence.[73] Isabella (whose second name was Clare) had joined the order of the Poor Clares a few years earlier and had herself depicted in the habit by several painters, including Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck. Artists, historians and others often portrayed her as a providential defender of Catholicism. In his manuscript biography of the Infanta, court chaplain Philippe Chifflet implied that Isabella's birth in 1566, the year of the iconoclastic furies, could not be a coincidence, suggesting that she was sent by God in order to restore Catholicism.[74] In 1632, when a conspiracy against the regime by a number of prominent nobles threatened the South's internal stability, Chifflet wrote with admiration about Isabella's steadfast conviction and religiosity. He observed that 'all people here are in prayers, devotions, processions and fasts. The princess gives such an example that she provokes tears from her poor people, and she is indefatigably at work'.[75]

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70 Adrianus Poirters, *Den Pelgrim van Halle* (s.l.: s.n., 1714), pp. 71–74.

71 Ibid., p. 75; Duerloo and Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel*, p. 27; Delfosse, *La "Protectrice du Païs-Bas"*, p. 86.

72 See for instance: Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, p. 405.

73 Guy Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1999), p. 220.

74 Cordula van Wyhe, 'Piety and Politics in the Royal Convent of Discalced Carmelite Nuns in Brussels, 1607–1646', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 100:1 (2005), p. 462.

75 Philippe Chifflet to Cardinal Jean-François Guidi di Bagno, 28 June 1632, in: 'Texte intégral des lettres', edited by De Meester de Ravestein, KBR, MS II 7277, f. 445r: 'Tout le monde

The propagation of a Catholic Habsburg identity was accompanied by dynastic manipulation of the public memory. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, Anthonio de Succa contributed to the reconstruction of church and dynasty. An artist, he went around the country to make an inventory of neglected effigies of former dynastic rulers of the Low Countries.[76] De Succa also found a profitable niche in the production of portraits of former rulers of Brabant. He was for instance the artist who painted the twenty-five portraits of past rulers of the Low Countries which adorned the Antwerp town hall. He also provided some of the illustrations for Adrianus Barlandus' 1600 edition of *Ducum Brabantiae Chronica*.[77] In 1600, the archdukes issued letters patent (the originals are missing) authorizing him 'to do research on the genealogical effigies of the princes and princesses of the very illustrious houses of Austria, of Burgundy, of Brabant, Flanders etc'.[78] The extent to which the archdukes in fact instigated De Succa's campaign is unclear, but it is known that they endorsed it, which must have opened doors for De Succa that would otherwise have remained closed. They also acted upon his reports. Many of the effigies De Succa visited had suffered over time; some of them had been damaged deliberately during the Revolt, including that of Duchess Joanna of Brabant (1322–1406) in the Carmelite church in Brussels, where the grave had been violated by Calvinists between 1578 and 1584. After De Succa's description of the grave's condition, the archdukes began making efforts to restore it to its former glory in order to make invisible the damage inflicted upon it by the Calvinist heretics.[79] They thus engaged in a material cleansing of the tainted past.

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est icy en prières, en oraisons, en processions et en austerités. La princesse donne un example tel qu'elle provoque les larmes de son pauvre peuple et est infatigable au travail.'

76 Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, 'Biografie van Anthonio de Succa', in: *Memoriën van Anthonio de Succa, Band 1: Inleidingen, Catalogus*, edited by Michelle Comblen-Sonkes and Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens (Brussels: KBR, 1977), pp. 1–4.

77 Barlandus, *Dvcvm Brabantiae chronica*, f. *2r; Prims, *Het stadhuis te Antwerpen*, p. 35.

78 Van den Bergen-Pantens, 'Biografie', in: Comblen-Sonkes and Van den Bergen-Pantens, eds., *Memoriën*, p. 5; A.-M. Bonenfant-Feytmans, 'Anthonio de Succa en de toenmalige geschiedschrijving', in *Memoriën*, edited by Comblen-Sonkes and Van den Bergen-Pantens, p. 20: 'commis et authorisé pour faire la recerche des généalogies effigionaires des princes et princesses des tres illustres maisons d'Autrice, de Bourgogne, du Brabant, Flandre, etc.'. The drawings are in the collection of the Royal Library in Brussels.

79 *Archives des arts, sciences et letteres: documents inédits*, edited by Alexandre Pinchart (Ghent: L. Hebbelynck, 1860), p. 128; *Memoriën*, edited by Comblen-Sonkes and Van den Bergen-Pantens, p. 220; Lorne Campbell, 'The Tomb of Joanna, Duchess of Brabant', *Renaissance Studies* 2:2 (1988), pp. 163–172.

This material cleansing involved not only the dynastic rulers of the Low Countries but also included the graves of local saints, like St Hubert, the first bishop of Liège, who was the patron saint of hunting. He died in the Brabant town of Tervuren and was venerated throughout the region. The devotion of St Hubert blossomed in the seventeenth century. In 1605, the parish priest Gerardus Goosens established the Brotherhood of St Hubert in Tervuren. In the subsequent decades Archduchess Isabella and a number of prominent nobles became members, elevating the local cult to one of national importance.[80] Archdukes Albert and Isabella ordered a chapel to be built on the spot where St Hubert had died, and in 1617 the archbishop of Mechelen, Matthias Hovius, consecrated the new church. At first sight, these actions seem unrelated to the Revolt until we consider the archdukes' attention to the restoration of the Catholic landscape as a reaction against the destructive effects of heresy and rebellion.

Further evidence of the dynastic importance of the veneration of St Hubert is the fact that Tervuren was not only the place where Hubert died; it was also an old retreat for the dukes of Brabant, notably Henry I, John II, Anthony I, John IV and Philip I, and several of them were buried there.[81] The archdukes rebuilt the old and dilapidated castle, thereby underlining their position as successors of the old sovereigns, the dynastic presence of the house of Habsburg in the Low Countries, and their close connection to the local saint, St Hubert.[82] In 1617, Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder painted a portrait of Archduke Albert with Tervuren in the background.[83] The dynastic identification of the archdukes with their land appears also from other manifestations of Habsburg identity spread by Albert and Isabella. The painting of Albert with Tervuren in the background, for instance, was part of a set together with a portrait of Isabella with the country retreat Mariemont in Hainault in the background. It is not a coincidence that Mariemont and its environs were also the setting for many of Breughel's paintings of Albert and Isabella's attendance at peasant weddings.[84] These examples illustrate the variety of ways in

80 Maurice Wynants, *De Sint-Hubertuskapel en de Sint-Hubertusverering te Tervuren* (Tervuren: Heemkundige Kring Sint-Hubertus, 1995), pp. 30–34.

81 Bruslé de Montpleinchamp, *L'Histoire de l'Archiduc*, p. 340.

82 'Chronycke der Nederlanden, 1500–1693', KBR manuscript 21769, ff. 61r–v.

83 Anne Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen, eds., *Rubens & Brueghel: A Working Friendship* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), pp. 101–106.

84 Cordula Schumann, 'Jan Brueghel's Peasant Weddings as Images of Social Unity under Archducal Sovereignty', in: Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo, eds., *Albert and Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays* (Brussels: Brepols, 1998), pp. 151–160.

which the archdukes reinforced their ties to the land and emphasised their proximity to their subjects. Again, the pretense of continuity camouflaged discontinuity. After all, the permanent presence of the Habsburg overlords in the Low Countries at the time of the archdukes was a novelty.

In the 1600s and 1610s, Archdukes Albert and Isabella managed to do what Philip II had proved incapable of: bringing stability and Catholicism back to these lands.[85] They did not succeed, however, in rooting their own branch of the dynasty in the Low Countries. Despite their attempts, they failed to give birth to an heir. Historians have suggested that their many visits to Our Lady of Laken (renowned for curing fertility problems) were motivated by their wish to solve their dynastic problems, but these visits proved to no avail.[86] In 1621 both Philip III and Archduke Albert, lord of the Netherlands, died. The Act of Cession stipulated that sovereignty over the Low Countries was conditional upon Albert fathering a son. Since he had failed to do so, and the Act prevented Archduchess Isabella from ruling on her own, Philip IV succeeded Albert in 1621 as overlord of the Netherlandish provinces. Claude Chappuisot pronounced a funerary oration in Brussels in which he praised Albert's life and the house of Habsburg, which, he explained, descended from the ancient Roman *gens* the Anicii: 'that family has given us the Alberts, the Leopolds, the Ernests, the Fredericks, the Maximiliens, the Philips, the Ferdinands', and of course the great Charles V.[87] Just like the funerary oration for Philip II, which also extolled the life of the king, this one for Albert focused on his qualities as a ruler, as defender of the faith, and as bearer of peace and prosperity. In fact, Chapuissot first praised Philip II, and only after that did he start discussing Albert's life. By focusing on Philip's life first, he forged an artificial sense of dynastic continuity.[88]

85 Andriessen, *De Jezuieten*, p. 60.

86 Duerloo, *Scherpenheuvel*, p. 13.

87 Claude Chappuisot, *Oraison funebre sur la mort de ce tres haut, tres puissante & tres catholique Prince Albert Archiduc d'Austriche* (Brussels: Jean Pepermans, 1621), pp. 21–22: 'Ceste famille nous a produict les Alberts, les Leopolds, les Ernests, les Frederics, les Maximiliens, les Philippes, les Ferdinands'.

88 The deaths of Habsburg monarchs in 1621 saw an increasing interest in other funerary ceremonies of former natural lords. Archduke Albert's death inspired Adriaan van Meerbeeck to write his *Theatre Funebre*, a compendium of several Habsburg funerals from Don Ferdinand of Austria's in 1515 to Albert's in 1621: Van Meerbeeck, ed., *Theatre Fvnebre*.

Building a New Dynasty

The war inspired one of the most important foundation narratives of the fledgling Dutch Republic and of the house of Orange-Nassau as a stadholderly family. An important German noble family, the Nassaus prided themselves on their forefather Adolf, who had been elected king of the Romans in 1292, enabling the dynasty to claim that it stemmed from royal and imperial blood.[89] As rulers of the principality of Orange, an enclave in the kingdom of France, they also enjoyed the status of sovereign prince. Yet, despite claims of ancient descent or sovereignty, dynastic representations of the house of Orange in the Dutch Republic did not so much rely on the dynasty's real or imaginary ancient lineage but rather on the active contributions to the war effort of Prince William of Orange and his sons Maurice and Frederick Henry.[90] William of Orange had been keen to link the fate of his dynasty to that of the Low Countries. He even named four of his six daughters after the lands for which he fought: Catharina Belgica (born in 1578), Charlotte Flandrina (1579), Charlotte Brabantina (1580) and Emilia Antwerpiana (1581).[91] These four daughters were godchildren of, respectively, the States General, the States of Flanders, the States of Brabant and the city of Antwerp. By making these authorities godparents of his daughters, William of Orange forced upon them some responsibility for his children's

89 See for example the tableaux vivants in Amsterdam on the occasion of Amalia, princess of Orange's entry in 1649: D.P. Snoep, *Praal en propaganda: triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1975), pp. 83–85; or the interest of Prince Frederick Henry and Amalia in the Nassau forbear Adolf of Nassau and the past princes and counts of Orange: Laura Manzano Baena, *Conflicting Words: The Peace Treaty of Münster* (*1648*) *and the Political Culture of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Monarchy* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), p. 138; Marika Keblusek, 'Boeken aan het stadhouderlijk hof', in: Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans, eds., *Vorstelijk Vertoon: Aan het hof van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997), p. 143.

90 See for instance William Frederick of Nassau who on 20 November 1644 sent Louise Henriette of Orange a copy of Baudartius' *Wars of Nassau* [*De Nassausche Oorloghen*] (1615), see: Marika Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad. Haagse boekcultuur in de gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p. 191; members of the Orange dynasty also considered the long-term Orange succession important, see for example: Joseph de la Pise, *Tableau de l'histoire des princes et principavté d'Orange* (The Hague: Dirk Maire, 1639); Marika Keblusek has shown that Frederick Henry covered all costs of this publication. She also found that the Court of Audit ordered copies for all of its members. The book was also read at court. Princess Maria, the daughter of Frederick Henry, borrowed it from the stadholderly library in 1662. So did William III and his wife Mary in 1687, see: Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad*, pp. 187–189.

91 Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, p. 272.

uncertain financial future—he himself was permanently strapped for cash. Antwerp, for instance, promised her goddaughter Emilia Antwerpiana an annuity of two thousand guilders, a pledge which due to the turbulent political situation the city never fulfilled.[92]

The Orange dynasty's reliance on its active role in the recent past was a relatively new phenomenon in early modern Europe, where dynastic legitimacy generally relied on custom and continuity, although as we could see in the previous section even in such instances emphases on continuity served to disguise discontinuity. More so than with the Habsburgs in the South, however, the constitutional position of the Oranges was not based on any age-old customs, and since William of Orange had not managed to make the position of his house hereditary, the dynasty required non-traditional ways of dynastic self-representation. These methods still leaned on history, but rather than choosing a long-term historical perspective, scions and supporters of the Orange dynasty in the Dutch Republic focused on the recent past. The next part of this chapter will explain how members of the Orange dynasty, and their supporters, used the history of the Revolt to build up a strong dynastic presence in the Dutch Republic. This section will demonstrate that the strong dynastic position that the princes of Orange came to occupy in the Republic should not be seen as the automatic result of their role in the Revolt. I will explain how they and their supporters deployed the history of the Revolt to acquire such a position.

Dynastic Uncertainty

In the seventeenth century, many inhabitants of the Republic considered Prince William as a popular prince and as their *pater patriae*. Louis Aubery, born in 1609, mentioned in his 1687 history of Holland that tourists visited the Prinsenhof where William had been murdered: 'in the city of Delft in Holland, strangers are still shown the marks of the bullets that entered the stone of the doorway after having pierced the body of the prince: and it was shown to me in my youth.'[93] William of Orange's heroic reputation in the seventeenth century distorts our image of the prince at the time of his death in 1584, when there

92 Asaert, *1585*, p. 170.

93 Louis Aubery, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Hollande et des autres Provinces-Unis* (Paris: Jean Vilette, 1687), p. 151: 'On montre encore au Etrangers dans la Ville de Delft en Hollande, les marques de ces balles qui entrerent dans la pierre de taille d'une porte, aprés avoir percé le corps du Prince: & on me les a fait voir en ma jeunesse.'; the bullet holes are still a popular attraction in the Prinsenhof Museum, see: http://www.prinsenhof-delft.nl/nl/wat-is-er-te-doen/tentoonstellingen/willem-van-oranje (accessed 12 February 2013).

had been little reason for celebrating his life. In the 1580s Alexander Farnese was busy reconquering the Southern provinces, and although the prince received a splendid state funeral, the time was not propitious for elaborate, expensive commemorations.[94] The Revolt was not going well at all and had left the Orange family virtually destitute. Furthermore, many people including his own brother Jan of Nassau blamed Prince William for the Anjou debacle in the 1580s.[95] The prince's lack of popularity meant that after his death his legacy was initially not used to support a political argument. Neither the provincial States nor the States General made much effort to commemorate and celebrate his life.[96] As Olaf Mörke has rightly observed, the fact that the Orange family became a powerful European dynasty in the seventeenth century was, at least in the 1580s, an unforeseen development.[97]

In dynastic terms, Maurice was in a particularly uncomfortable situation in 1584. He was left virtually penniless, depended on the States of Holland for his income, and conflicts about his father's estate lingered on until 1609.[98] The stadholderate to which the young count was appointed in Holland and Zeeland in 1585 remained non-hereditary. Two years later Holland appointed him captain-general, the highest army post.[99] He owed this appointment to his birth, but Maurice could not claim the office as a birth-right. Under the tutelage of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Maurice trained as an army commander and statesman. Count Maurice derived his military and political claims from his status as successor of his father, but in fact he was not his father's heir to the princely title. William of Orange's eldest son from his first marriage to Anna of Egmont was Philip William. Philip II had ordered the kidnapping of this young prince in 1568 when he was still a student at the University of Leuven. Philip William became the rightful prince of Orange on his father's death in 1584. He

94 See for William of Orange's funeral: Geert H. Janssen, 'Dynastieke transfer in de Republiek. De politieke en religieuze betekenis van de stadhouderlijke begrafenisstoet', *BMGN* 122:2 (2007); Geert H. Janssen, 'Political Ambiguity and Confessional Diversity in the Funeral Processions of Stadholders in the Dutch Republic', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 40:2 (2009), pp. 283–291.

95 Swart, *Willem van Oranje*, p. 48.

96 Olaf Mörke, *Willem van Oranje (1533–1584): Vorst en 'vader' van de Republiek* (Amsterdam: Atlas, 2010), p. 263.

97 Ibid., p. 259.

98 P. Scherft, *Het sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1966), pp. 60–61, 273–276.

99 Harm Stevens, *Shades of Orange: A History of the Royal House of the Netherlands* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), p. 3.

was raised a Catholic in Spain only to return to the Southern Netherlands in 1596, where he eventually became a courtier of Albert and Isabella.

To solve the problem that he was only second to his brother Philip William, the States of Holland decided to confer upon Maurice the peculiar and unprecedented title 'born prince of Orange' when they charged him with high offices of state in 1585. The conferral was only partly in recognition of the services done by William I.[100] The States also had an important political motivation to place Maurice in the line of legitimate successors of William I. That year, the States General appointed Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, as governor-general, which gave him precedence over Count Maurice. As a prince, which accorded him the same position in the order of precedence, Maurice was better able to counterbalance Leicester.[101] The dubious conferral of the princely title shows that the government of the United Provinces wanted to have their cake and eat it too. In their struggle against Spain they needed a foreign protector, but with the experience of Anjou in mind they did not want him to become too meddlesome. Reinforcing the ties with Maurice, upgrading his position, and having him do their bidding served as a potential insurance against Leicester.[102]

Around 1600, after Maurice had gained a reputation on the battlefield, his father's reputation, too, improved. Jan Bloemendal has demonstrated, for instance, that most of the existing plays about William of Orange were published and performed around 1600.[103] In 1599, Casper Ens published *William of Orange or the Protection of Liberty* [*Princeps Avriacvs; siue Libertas defensa*], in 1602 Heinsius finished his *William of Orange and the Wounded Freedom* [*Avriacvs, siue Libertas savcia*], which was performed at the University of Leiden, and in 1606 Jacob Duym published *The Murderous Act of Balthasar*

100 Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, p. 28.

101 Simon Groenveld, 'De man met de loden schoenen', in: Kees Zandvliet, ed., *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), p. 19; Jan den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt I. Opgang, 1547–1588* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1960, pp. 243–244; see also: Joop Koopmans, *De Staten van Holland en de Opstand. De ontwikkeling van hun functies en organisatie in de periode 1544–1588* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1990), p. 132.

102 Fruin, *Tien jaren*, p. 39; Olaf Mörke, 'The Orange Court as Centre of Political and Social Life During the Republic', in: Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans, eds., *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997), pp. 70–71.

103 Jan Bloemendal, 'De dramatische moord op de Vader des Vaderlands. De verhouding tussen vier typen toneel in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 23:1 (2007), pp. 99–117, there p. 99; see also: Jan Bloemendal, 'Willem van Oranje: een Hercules op Leidse planken', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 10:1 (1994), pp. 159–167.

Gérard [*Het moordadich stvck van Balthasar Gerards*].[104] Several reasons may account for the sudden interest in the life and death of the prince, but the most important one was that Maurice had grown into a competent army commander and was increasingly credited with the successful conduct of the war. After the disastrous 1580s, in the 1590s Maurice and his uncle William Louis managed—facilitated by Johan van Oldenbarnevelt's statecraft—to recapture important cities in the east of the Union.[105] In the meantime, the real prince of Orange, Philip William, had moved to the Southern Netherlands in 1596, and this endangered Maurice's dynastic status.[106] In his opposition to the negotiations for a ceasefire, Maurice acquired supporters who portrayed him and his half-brother Frederick Henry as the real heirs of their father. In the preamble of his play, Jacob Duym—a Reformed clergyman, anti-peace propagandist and supporter of Maurice—wrote:

> As the old and innate hatred of the Spanish has been kindled more and more and has become greater and greater, without a doubt it has also been fired against the princes and lords who, as leaders of these our said Netherlands, have taken care of the protection and liberation of these lands: among them the most notable and the best has been the prince of Orange.[107]

Popular devotion to the house of Orange, such as Duym proposed, was not self-evident at the beginning of the seventeenth century. William of Orange's unimpressive grave may illustrate this point. Some foreign observers initially wondered at this lack of public recognition of the services rendered

104 Casper Ens, *Princeps Avriacvs; siue Libertas defensa: tragoedia nova* (Delft: B. Schinckelii, 1599); Daniel Heinsius, *Avriacvs, siue Libertas savcia* (Leiden: Andries Clouck, 1602); Jacob Duym, *Het moordadich stvck van Balthasar Gerards, begaen aen den doorluchtighen prince van Oraingnen* (Leiden: Henrick Lodewijcxsoon van Haestens, 1606).

105 Fruin, *Tien jaren*, pp. 336, 371–372; Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, pp. 117–164; Jan den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt II. Oorlog 1588–1609* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1962), pp. 129–161; Jan Bloemendal argues that this was not an important motivation because in Heinsius' play Maurice hardly appears. Yet I think that Maurice's appearance is not so important and that he would in any case profit from glorifications of his father.

106 Scherft, *Het sterfhuis*, pp. 202–203.

107 Duym, *Het moordadich stvck*, f. a2r: 'Alsoo den ouden ende ingheboren haed van die van Spaingnen meer en meer ontsteken, en grooter geworden is, soo is hy sonder twijfel ooc te meer ontsteken teghen die Princen ende Heeren, de welcke als Voorstanders van dese onse bedroefde Nederlanden, de beschuttinghe en de verlossinge der selver beherticht hebben: Onder dese is de voornaemste ende meeste gheweest de Prince van Oraingnen'.

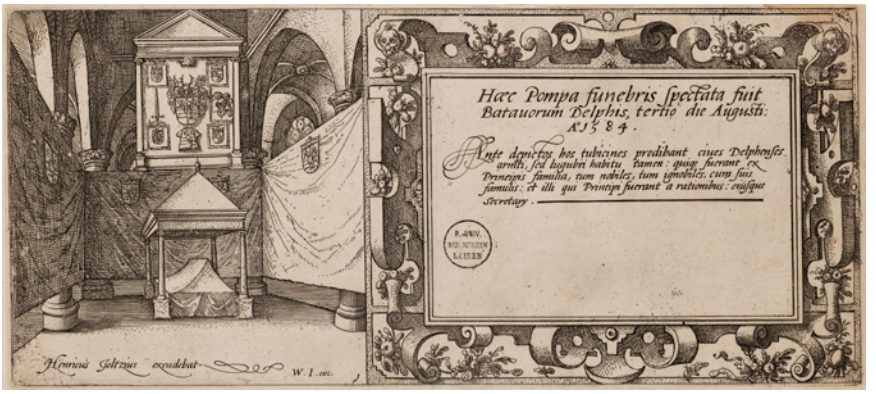
Hæc Pompa funebris spectata fuit
Batauorum Delphis, tertio die Augusti:
Anno 1584.
Ante dimidium hos tubicines prodibant eiues Delphenses
armati, sed lugubri habitu. Tamen quoq; fuerant &
Principis familia, tum nobiles, tum ignobiles, cum suis
familijs: et illi qui Principi fuerant a rationibus: cuiusque
Secretary.
Hermanus Goltzius excudebat
W. I. exc.

FIGURE 10 *William of Orange's grave in Delft's New Church, before the completion of Hendrick de Keyser's ornate tomb, Leiden University.*

to the Republic by the late prince of Orange. After his visit to Delft in 1593, traveller and author of the *Itinerary* Fynes Moryson noted in his diary: 'In the New Church is a monument of the prince of Orange, the poorest that ever I saw for such a person, being onely of rough stones and mortar, with posts of wood, coloured over with black, and very little erected from the ground.'[108] (Figure 10). While William of Orange was still lying in his nondescript grave, in 1607 the States General commissioned an ornamental grave designed by Hendrick de Keyser in Amsterdam's Old Church for Vice-admiral Jacob van Heemskerck, who died at the Battle of Gibraltar (1607).[109] This battle had been an important victory for the Republic against the Habsburg overlord, which explains why the States General sought to commemorate Van Heemskerck as a national hero. It is telling that no such honour had yet been extended to Prince William of Orange.

Princely aspirations

The eventual glorification of the house of Orange came from three sides: urban, regional and national government authorities, supporters of the dynasty and, of course, from the family itself. A good example of renewed government interest in William of Orange is the new memorial the States General commissioned during the Twelve Years' Truce. The Truce changed the position of the

108 'Morysons reis door en zijn karakteristiek van de Nederlanden', edited by J.N. Jacobsen Jensen, *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 39 (1918), p. 229.

109 Frits Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2003), p. 73.

Oranges in two ways. Firstly, hostilities were temporarily deferred, which lessened financial strains and implied de facto recognition of the Republic but also lessened the influence of Maurice as captain-general.[110] Secondly, although the peace was only provisional, it left Northerners without a common enemy, and the States General worried that a lack of identification with the Republic among the different states might endanger the future war effort.[111]

Artist and architect Salomon de Bray remarked in 1631 on the long period between the prince's death and the construction of an ornate tomb:

> The making of this grave [was] embarked upon by the high and mighty Lords States General, about 32 years after the death of [...] Prince William, prince of Orange and was in 1616 contracted out to our architect [...] and has been in the hands of our architect until the year 1621.[112]

It is not entirely clear when they decided that there should be a more worthy monument for the late prince. The first concrete evidence of any such plans is from 1613, when the States General received and discussed draft designs by several artists. William of Orange's widow and mother of Frederick Henry, Louise de Coligny, urged the States in 1614 to speed up the process of building 'an honourable sepulture' for Prince William. Yet the commission ultimately came from the States General.[113]

From multiple designs, the States General chose Hendrick de Keyser's. In his design different ways of communicating knowledge about the past came to the fore. Frits Scholten has observed in his study of Dutch tomb sculpture that the artist needed to bridge the desire for a splendid sepulcher and the necessity to

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110 Jonathan I. Israel, 'The Courts of the House of Orange, c. 1580–1795' in: John Adamson, ed., *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime, 1500–1750* (London: Seven Dials, 2000), p. 122.

111 A point made by Almut Pollmer, 'Der Kirchenraum in der holländische Malerei um 1650', unpublished PhD dissertation (Leiden, 2011), pp. 88–89.

112 Salomon de Bray, *Architectvra moderna ofte bouwinge van onsen tyt* [...] *alle gedaen by* [...] *Hendrick de Keyser* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Dankerts van Seevenhoven, 1631), p. 24: 'de maeckinghe van dit Graf is bij de H.M. Heeren Staten by der handt ghenomen, ontrent 32 jaer naer 't over-lyden van [...] Vorst Willem Prince van Orangien, en is inden jare 1616. onsen Bouw-meester by de H. ghemelde H. Staten aen besteet gheweest: En is by onsen Bouw-meester onderhanden gheweest tot den jare 1621.'; see also: Elisabeth Neurdenburg, *Hendrick de Keyser: beeldhouwer en bouwmeester van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Scheltema en Holkema, 1930), p. 115.

113 C. Gijsberti Hodenpijl, 'De oprichting van het mausoleum der Oranjes', *Elsevier* 10 (1900), p. 155: 'een eerlijcke Sepulture'.

make it suitable for a Protestant prince in a republic. In terms of splendour the monument, Scholten explains, 'was to yield to no princely tomb abroad, but without borrowing their predominantly Roman Catholic iconography.'[114] De Keyser designed a canopied free-standing tomb, reminiscent of late sixteenth-century princely tombs in England, France and Flanders.[115] William featured in two different poses, lying dead in the middle and sitting enthroned at the front. Scholten clarifies that this latter pose was chosen to avoid the more traditional representation of a kneeling prince, praying to God. De Keyser, probably feeling that this kneeling figure was not an appropriate example to follow, chose an alternative pose.[116] The seated figure of the prince is dressed as an army commander to place emphasis on his primary achievement of defending the Republic against its enemies. Personifications of virtues stand in each corner pillar niche: justice, freedom, religion and fortitude.[117]

An epitaph that mirrored the official state view of William of Orange's legacy was placed above the canopy. The States General made an effort to select the right epitaph. They chose carefully from three alternatives, each by a renowned and prominent member of literary society: Hugo Grotius, Daniël Heinsius and Constantijn Huygens. Huygens' work was eventually selected, and he made no attempt to disguise his feeling of triumph. He even wrote a poem about it, sneering at Grotius and Heinsius who lost out: 'The golden inscription, which the art cut from marble, / In which by favour or art at least I succeeded happily, / While it was more pleasing than that of Heins or of De Groot.'[118] The epitaph Huygens wrote in Latin focused on William's selfless efforts in the war, presenting him as the

> Pater Patriae, who privileged the welfare of the Netherlands above his own interest [...], who twice led his army into war; who recalled and restored the true religion and the old laws; who finally left the virtually ensured freedom to Prince Maurice, his son and heir of his father's

114 Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories*, p. 74.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid., pp. 74–75.

117 Gijsberti Hodenpijl, 'De oprichting', p. 161; for another good overview of the tomb, see: Els Jimkes-Verkade, 'De ikonologie van het grafmonument van Willem I, prins van Oranje', in: I.V.T. Spaander and R.-A. Leeuw, eds., *De stad Delft. Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667* (Delft: Het Prinsenhof, 1981), pp. 214–227.

118 Ibid., p. 157: 'Het gouden opschrift, dat de kunst uit marmer sneed, / Waarin 'k door gunst of kunst althans gelukkig slaagde, / Wijl 't meer dan dat van Heins of van de Groot behaagde.'

> virtues to have him confirm them; the truly pious, skilful and invincible hero, whom Philip II, king of Spain, terror of Europe, feared.[119]

The Orange family itself also became a very active propagator of dynastic identity and an enthusiastic commemorator of the dynasty's illustrious past. Some historians have argued that Maurice's itinerant life precluded efforts at dynastic display.[120] But despite this limitation he and his supporters were very concerned with the dynasty's status in the Republic.[121] From the time Maurice was about seventeen or eighteen years old (shortly after William of Orange's death), his awareness grew of the opportunities his father's legacy offered for the future. From that moment onwards he adopted his motto: 'tandem fit surculus arbor'. 'That is to say', historian Emanuel van Meteren explained, 'ultimately the scion will become a tree aiming to point out that with the cut-down tree or his father's death not all was won'.[122] The maxim connected past, present, and future of the house of Orange-Nassau.[123] More specifically, Maurice's adoption of this motto after the death of William of Orange reveals that he intended the Orange dynasty to flourish once more. Indeed, the Orange court reproduced the motto in a variety of ways, for example when, in January 1613, James I admitted the prince into the Order of the Garter. The award was a prestigious recognition of Maurice's international status as a European prince even though he was strictly speaking a mere count. Maurice and his supporters took

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119 R.F.P. de Beaufort, *Het Mausoleum der Oranje's te Delft* (Delft: Waltman Jr., 1931), p. 35: 'Patris Patriae / Qui Belgii Fortunis / Suas Post Habuit Et Suorum: / Validissimos Exercitus Aere Plurimum Privato / Bis Conscripsit, Bis Induxit / Ordinum Auspiciis: Hispaniae Tyrannidem / Propulit: Verae Religiones / Cultum, Avitas Patriae Leges / Revocavit, Restituit: / Ipsam Denique Libertatem / Tantum Non Assertam / Mauritio Principi / Paternae Virtutis Heredi Filio / Stabiliendam Reliquit:/ Herois Vere Pii, Prudentis, Invicti / Quem / Philippus II Hispan: Rex / Ille Europae Timor Timuit.'

120 Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, 'De Prinsen van Oranje en de kunst, tot 1625', in: Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, eds., *Vorstelijk verzameld: De kunstcollectie van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997), pp. 14–15.

121 See Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, pp. 215–225.

122 Theodorik, 'Tandem fit surculus arbor', *De Navorscher* 4 (1854), p. 373; P.C. Ritsema van Eck, 'Drie glazen uit het museum van het Koninklijk Huisarchief', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 31 (1981), p. 163; for Emanuel van Meteren's explanation, see: Van Meteren, *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie* (1614), f. 228v: 'dat is / dat ten lesten een spruyte eenen Boom wort / willende aenwijsen / dat het met den afghehouwen Boom / ofte doodt sijns Vaders / niet al gewonnen was'.

123 *1600: Slag bij Nieuwpoort, catalogus* (Nieuwpoort: stadsbestuur Nieuwpoort, 2000), p. 105.

advantage of this important event, and it was made much of in Netherlandish media.[124] A damask napkin in honour of Maurice's investiture as Garter knight and made for the prince's use, featured his coat of arms, surrounded by heraldic symbols of Maurice's ancestors.[125] The coat of arms is placed on a cut-down tree under which the Latin motto explained the significance of this symbol. The artist, Passchier Lammertijn, had Maurice approve the design before he started weaving. Not only Maurice himself ordered damask from Lammertijn. The States General and local government authorities in the Republic commissioned similar work featuring the Nassau coat of arms.[126] Another example is a small collection of glasses in the collection of the Royal House Archives in The Hague. On one of the glasses, probably also produced on the occasion of the 1613 Garter investiture, Maurice's personal motto is engraved together with the dynasty's motto: 'Je maintiendray Nassau.'[127] Maurice's pride in becoming a Garter knight is reflected also by his order to embellish the coat of arms on his book covers with the Garter.[128]

On 20 February 1618, the childless prince Philip William died after a badly administered clyster, and, finally, Maurice became the rightful prince of Orange. Despite the fact that Maurice and his supporters had built up an image of the prince as a successful army commander and protector of the Netherlandish people, they were well aware that until 1618 he had not been the real prince of Orange. From the reactions to Maurice's succession to the title we can see clearly that both the prince and his supporters attached importance to his new status. Just as in 1613, when Maurice had become a Garter knight, the prince ordered a new book plate to be made, this time reflecting his status as the true prince of Orange.[129] As we will see in the next chapter, during the 1610s Maurice not only succeeded to the princely title, he also got embroiled in a political and

124 Anonymous, *Eerste instellinge des vermaerden ridderlicken ordes vande Covsebant, in Engelandt: Waer mede zyn Pr. Excell. Graef Mauris van Nassau, &c. vereert is* . . . (Leiden: Govert Basson, 1613); anonymous, *Warachtich verhael van de ceremonien gheschiet in Engelandt in't installeren van zijne princelijcke excellentie, nevens sijne hoocheyt den cheurfurst Paltz in de coninghlijcke ordre van den Cousebant* (The Hague: Hillebrandt Jacobsz van Wouw, 1613); after Simon Frisius, 'De investituur van Maurits met de Orde van de Kouseband, 1613' (1613–1615), engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-52.301.

125 Kees Zandvliet, ed., *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), p. 322.

126 Ibid., p. 322.

127 Ritsema van Eck, 'Drie glazen', pp. 161–162.

128 Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad*, p. 176; see also: Storm van Leeuwen, 'Boekbanden in de Oranje-Nassaubibliotheek', p. 62.

129 Ibid.

religious disagreement with Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. The prince triumphed over Oldenbarnevelt, after which he wielded unprecedented political power. Furthermore, Maurice emerged from the conflict as the true protector of the inhabitants of the Republic and as defender of the faith.

We see this triangle of God, the Republic and Orange featuring prominently during Maurice's entry as prince of Orange in Amsterdam in 1618.[130] In the anonymous pamphlet *Triumph in Amsterdam about the Entry of the High-Born Prince Maurice Prince of Orange* [*Triumphe tot Amsterdam, over het incomen vanden hooch-gheboren vorst Mauritius prince van Orangien*], the author remarked on some of the spectacles and pageants organised by the town government and the local chambers of rhetoric (local literary societies) on 23, 24 and 25 May. In anticipation of the prince, the mayors of Amsterdam had ordered the officers of the militia to welcome him in style. Many spectators wore Orange feathers and veils, and trumpeters performed the 'Wilhelmus' song in honour of the prince's late father William of Orange.[131] The 'Wilhelmus' had originally been one of many rebel 'Beggar songs' but grew into a kind of popular anthem for supporters of the Orange family. The Nederduytsche Academie, a local chamber of rhetoric, rented ten barges to welcome Prince Maurice. They were connected one to another by an Orange rope. The second barge had 'war' as its theme. Mars featured prominently and was accompanied by the female personifications of the true religion and of worldly justice. The two figures each held an Orange ribbon attached to the coat of arms of the prince.[132] When the prince was welcomed by the city magistrates on the Dam square, he saw the Old Chamber's triumphal arch featuring the words 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini'. 'That is to say', the author translated from Latin, 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord'.[133] Among other performances, members of the Old Chamber performed Jupiter's acceptance of the prince's succession to the principality of Orange. Amsterdam's magistrates took a keen interest in the proceedings. They organised the theatrical performance of 'what evil the Spaniards did during the war and what service the house of Nassau has

130 Snoep, *Praal en propaganda*, pp. 36–37.

131 Anonymous, *Triumphe tot Amsterdam, over het incomen vanden hooch-gheboren vorst Mauritius prince van Orangien* (Leiden: Uldrick Cornelissz Honthorst, 1618), f. a2v.

132 Samuel Coster, *Vertoninghen, tot Amsterdam ghedaan, op den inkomste van Maurits, prince van Orangen* (Amsterdam: Nicolaes Biestkens, 1618), ff. a2r–v.

133 Anonymous, *Triumphe*, f. a3r: 'Dat is te segghen: Ghesegent is hy die daer comt inden name des Heeren'.

rendered to these lands'.[134] Part of the performance was a reenactment of Alba tyrannizing the land and how William of Orange had come to the rescue. One of the booklets in commemoration of Maurice's spectacular 1618 entry ended with the 'genuine title of his princely excellency', which began with 'Maurice, by the grace of God, prince of Orange'.[135]

Conclusion

The past was an important element of early modern dynastic image-making. Subjects accepted the authority of 'natural' rulers because these rulers stemmed from a line of successive legitimate princes. As I have shown, however, the Revolt broke this line of legitimate succession in the Low Countries. In the reconquered provinces, Philip II planted his daughter Isabella and her husband Archduke Albert as the new sovereigns to the detriment of his eldest son Philip III. In the Dutch Republic, the Habsburg dynasty was abjured and replaced by a new princely dynasty, although the Orange family did not attain sovereignty over the provinces.

The Habsburg and Orange dynasties occupied very different positions in their respective political contexts. The Habsburg princes Albert and Isabella were sovereigns of the Netherlands whereas the princes of Orange enjoyed only a privileged status as the Republic's most prestigious family. Although the comparison is hence a bit skewed, there is sufficient common ground to make some general observations. Both the houses of Habsburg in the South and Orange in the North appealed to the public memory of the Revolt to legitimate their political ambitions, but they did so in very different ways. For the Habsburgs, long-term lineage was the key to success, and they and their supporters saw the Revolt at most as a brief intermezzo in Habsburg dynastic history. For the Oranges it was the other way round. Lacking any real long-term claims for their position as stadholders in the newly established Republic and given the non-hereditary character of the stadholderate, they turned to short-term history and the deeds of their forebear William of Orange. So for the one dynasty, the Revolt was a problem while for the other it was its best claim to power.

134 Coster, *Vertoninghen, tot Amsterdam*, ff. a4v–b1r: 'wat qaedt ghedurende den Oorlogh, de Spangaerts ende wat dienst het Huys van Nassau deze Landen ghedaan heeft'.

135 Anonymous, *Triumphe*, f. a4v: 'Den oprechten tittel van zijn Princelicke Excellentie, als volcht. Mauritius, by der gratie Godts, Prince van Orangien [...]'.

Still, in many ways the Orange and the Habsburg dynasties operated with a similar dynastic logic. Albert and Isabella's succession was definitely an unusual dynastic transition of power; yet they acted as if it was the most natural thing. Their propagandists generally did so too. Similarly, dynastic propaganda for the house of Orange in the Republic ignored the rightful place of Philip William as prince of Orange until 1618, and in the memory culture of the family, he played hardly any role. Both dynasties thus tried to camouflage discontinuity.

CHAPTER 4

A Contested Past

In 1618, the poet and former clergyman Caspar Barlaeus published an anonymous request to Prince Maurice of Orange. As a member of the persecuted Remonstrant religious minority in the Republic, Barlaeus sought Maurice's protection in the struggles within the public church between Remonstrant dissenters and orthodox Counter-Remonstrants. 'The welfare of this land', he wrote, 'is due to the freedom of conscience, acquired through the blood of the House of Nassau and so many courageous heroes and inhabitants of these lands.'[1] He then turned to some of the canonical episodes in the Revolt's history and reinterpreted them to suit his own purposes. The Remonstrants 'are still the same people, or at least the children of those people, who have taken shelter under the wings of the Prince of Orange of glorious memory, and have assisted him with goods and blood.'[2] And, he added, 'many of them still carry the scars of the Spanish tyranny.'[3] The people of Brill were the first to oppose the duke of Alba, the author alleged (referring to the city's history as first Beggar town), but 'now' Brill's Remonstrants were excluded from the public church. It was no different in Leiden, where Remonstrants had starved just as much as the rest of the city's population during the siege by the Spaniards in 1573–74.[4] The historical parallels in this pamphlet served to remind the stadholder, Prince Maurice, that the Counter-Remonstrant repression of religious minorities stood in direct opposition to what the Republic had been fighting for over the last forty years. The pamphlet is only one example of a much wider phenomenon, and in turn Counter-Remonstrants responded to the assertions of their opponents with alternative historical evidence. The political and religious conflicts of the Dutch Republic during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621) thus involved a contest for the moral ownership of the communal past. The canon,

1 Caspar Barlaeus, *Clachte ende Bede Der Remonstranten hier te Lande / aen den Hoogh geboren, Doorluchtighen Prince van Oraengien, Gouverneur van Hollandt, Zeelandt &c.* (s.l.: s.n., 1618), p. 6: 'de welstandt deser Landen bestaet meest in vryheydt der conscientien / die door het Bloedt van het Huys van Nassouwen, ende soo veler vromer Helden ende Inwoonderen des Landts is verkreghen.'

2 Ibid., p. 11: 'Wy syn noch de selve Luyden / ofte altijt hare kinderen / die onder de vleughelen van den Prince van Oraengien H.M. hebben geschuylt / die hem hebben met goedt en bloedt gheassisteert.'

3 Ibid.: 'van welcke noch verscheyden de lidt-teeckenen der Spaensche tyrannije draghen.'

4 Ibid.

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which—as we have seen in chapter 2—had first been used to demonise the foreign enemy, now became an important weapon for opposition groups in domestic politics.

This chapter examines these 'memory wars' in the first half of the seventeenth century and explains how public memories of the Revolt against the Habsburg overlord in the 1560–80s could serve decades later not only to bring people together but also to discredit opponents on the domestic political scene. The present chapter covers two cases in chronological order. The first is the conflict between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants in the Dutch Republic in the 1610s, as exemplified by the Barlaeus excerpt above. What began as a religious quarrel between two factions of the Reformed public church quickly became a political struggle that endangered the unity of the fledgling Republic. The second case will examine the serious challenge to Habsburg authority in the Southern Netherlands in 1632. During this year, a group of malcontent indigenous nobles conspired against the regime, thereby imperilling the dynastic and religious reconstruction that had taken place under the Habsburg rulers since the turbulent years of the Revolt. In both cases, memories of the conflict played a key role.

Memory Wars in the Dutch Republic

The historical canon in the Dutch Republic was originally developed to unite 'Netherlanders' against Spain.[5] To substantiate their claim that the Spanish were not to be trusted, anti-peace propagandists reduced the history of the Revolt against the Habsburg overlord to a selection of episodes to remind people of the cruelties Spanish rulers and their soldiers were capable of.[6] The result was a relatively inclusive and non-confessional narrative that aspired to persuade as many people as possible that the war should be resumed. But the inclusive character of this narrative was put to the test when new internal divisions compromised the unity of the Republic. Around 1610, a religious quarrel broke out over the doctrine of double predestination between two professors of theology in Leiden: Jacobus Arminius and Franciscus Gomarus.

5 Parts of this section have also been published in Jasper van der Steen, 'A Contested Past. Memory Wars during the Twelve Years Truce (1609–21)', in: Kuijpers et al., eds., *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 45–61.

6 Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden*, pp. 9–10; Van der Steen, 'Goed en fout', pp. 87–88.

The disagreement between the two men was ostensibly a matter for academics only, but it almost dragged the state into civil war.[7]

The disagreement between these theologians was about the Reformed concepts of predestination and human free will.[8] Arminius believed that the doctrine of predestination allowed for the human initiative to reject God's offer of salvation. Otherwise people might mistakenly believe that God could be held accountable for human sin. For Gomarus, however, ideas of human involvement in the Lord's gift were anathema because they impinged on His absolute sovereignty.[9] A.Th. van Deursen has shown that the supporters of these two men used not only doctrinal but also political arguments.[10] Carolina Lenarduzzi has found that propagandists from both opposition groups were the first to appropriate the public memory of the Revolt to conduct their political disagreements.[11] Building on Lenarduzzi's work, this chapter will assess how this shift from external to internal usage occurred. We will see that when people begin to use historical interpretations to support two contradictory agendas, a political disagreement can become also a conflict about the appropriation and correct reading of the past.

The rhetorical use of history in the Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant struggles of the 1610s will be discussed in three sections. The first will involve the debate over which group had the oldest claim of being Reformed. The second section will deal with history as a rhetorical trap. It will examine the appropriation of Prince William of Orange's heritage by both parties. The final case will examine the use of references to the Spanish army commander Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba (1507–1582) as the Revolt's darkest villain. Before exploring these cases, I will introduce the religious troubles briefly.

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7 Jan den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt III: Bestand, 1609–1621* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1966); A.Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldebarnevelt* (Franeker: Van Wijnen, 1998); for more concise explanations of the troubles, see: A.Th. van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen. Het kopergeld van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Ooievaar, 1996), pp. 304–311; W. Nijenhuis, 'De publieke kerk veelkleurig en verdeeld, bevoorrecht en onvrij', in: P. Blok, ed., *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 6 (1977–1989), pp. 325–343; T. Kootte, ed., *Rekkelijk of precies. Remonstranten en contraremonstranten ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt* (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, 1994); Pollmann, *Religious Choice*, pp. 105–107.

8 Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, pp. 228–229.

9 Nijenhuis, 'De publieke kerk', p. 334.

10 Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, pp. 275–309.

11 Carolina Lenarduzzi, '"De oude geusen teghen de nieuwe geusen". De dynamiek van het oorlogsverleden ten tijde van het Twaalfjarig Bestand', *Holland* 43:2 (2011), pp. 65–69.

Religious Troubles in the 1610s

Around 1610, a number of Arminian clergymen in the Reformed public church were threatened with suspension because of their dissenting views, notably about the doctrine of predestination.[12] As a minority they began to seek support from government authorities. In January 1610, forty-four prominent Arminian clergymen presented a Remonstrance to the States of Holland, arguing for a more flexible and inclusive public church.[13] Hence they became known also as *Remonstrants*. Holland's land advocate Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the highest official of the province, favoured an inclusive public church and chose to support the Remonstrants for purposes of social harmony.[14] Followers of Gomarus (or *Counter-Remonstrants*), however, were orthodox Calvinists who rejected doctrinal flexibility and government interference in the church.

Oldenbarnevelt's first major move was the *Resolution* [. . .] *for the Peace of the Churches* [*Resolvtie* [. . .] *tot den vrede der kercken*] (1613), which was drafted by Hugo Grotius, pensionary of Rotterdam and an Arminian sympathiser. The Resolution, adopted by the States of Holland in 1614, ordered both factions to bury the hatchet and agree on a policy of peaceful co-existence within the public church.[15] Holland thus mandated toleration and instructed that the issue of predestination not be discussed in church services.[16] Here, the States effectively decided unilaterally that the Arminian profession of the faith was an acceptable practice within the public church. Counter-Remonstrants saw this action as an undesirable compromise on their faith and as an intolerable intervention of the state in church affairs.[17]

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12 Judith Pollmann, *Een andere weg naar God. De reformatie van Arnold Buchelius (1565–1641)* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2000), pp. 128–129.

13 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 425.

14 For Oldenbarnevelt's religious convictions, see: Den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt* III, pp. 1–35; for toleration as a means to preserve civic harmony: Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 251; A. Algra en H. Algra, *Dispereert niet. Twintig eeuwen historie van de Nederlanden* 2 (Franeker: T. Wever, 1978), p. 55; Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie. Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven* (The Hague: Smits, 1989), p. 233.

15 *Resolutie Vande Doorluchtige Moghende Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vriesland tot den Vrede der Kercken* (The Hague: Hillebrant Iacobsz, 1614), Knuttel 2109.

16 Kootte, ed., *Rekkelijk of precies*, p. 18.

17 See, for instance: Jacobus Trigland, *Antwoorde op dry vraghen, dienende tot advijs in de huydendaechse swaricheden* (Amsterdam: Marten Jansz Brandt, 1615), Knuttel 2191; Vincent van Drielenburch, *Cort examen ende sententie Johannis Vtenbogaerts over seker tractaet, welckes tytel is: Verdediging van de resolutie* [. . .] *der Staten van Hollandt* [. . .]. *totten vrede der kercken* (Amsterdam: Marten Jansz Brandt, 1615), Knuttel 2195.

In the course of the 1610s, a string of political associations came to be attached to the religious disagreements. Counter-Remonstrants, for instance, argued that the teachings of their Arminian opponents smacked of Papist sympathies or even of 'Pelagianism'.[18] If a believer could himself influence God's offer of election by doing good deeds, what then distinguished the Remonstrants from evil Catholics?[19] Furthermore, Gomarists increasingly regarded the Remonstrants as unpatriotic because they sought support from the advocate Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, who was the architect of the controversial Truce with Spain. At the height of the conflict from 1617 onwards, Counter-Remonstrant propagandists even raised suspicions that Oldenbarnevelt was in fact a crypto-Catholic and in league with the Catholic powers France and Spain.[20]

Both Oldenbarnevelt and Prince Maurice lived in Arminian-dominated The Hague. Tensions rose in January 1617 when the Counter-Remonstrants, who refused to attend Arminian services, wanted a church building to be allocated to them. In the summer they had attended Gomarist services in neighbouring Rijswijk, but the winter rendered such *Auslauf* less attractive, especially for the young and elderly.[21] Things changed when Oldenbarnevelt asked the stadholder's assistance in keeping the Counter-Remonstrants from causing unrest in the city.[22] Maurice was invited to appear at a meeting of the Delegated Councillors, together with the High Council, the Court of Holland, the Audit

18 See, for instance, Anonymous, *Een kort en waerachtich verhael, wat voor een grouwelijck ghevoelen dat de Arminianen, Vorstianen, ofte nieuwe Arrianen, Pelagianen, Socinianen, Samosatianen ghesocht hebben in de Ghereformeerde Kercke in te voeren, en in kort hier teghen gestelt het ghevoelen der Ghereformeerde Kercke* (s.l.: s.n., 1612), Knuttel 2009; Jacobus Trigland, *Kerckelycke geschiedenissen begrypende de swaere en bekommerlijcke geschillen, in de Vereenigde Nederlanden voor-gevallen, met serselver beslissinge, ende aenmerckingen op de kerckelycke historie van Johannes Wtenbogaert* (Leiden: Adriaen Wyngaerden, 1650), ff. *3r–*4v, pp. 421–423.

19 Arminians, in turn, also accused Counter-Remonstrants of Papist tendencies. One Remonstrant author called the Gomarist clergymen who opposed government interference in church order 'Jonge Pausen vanden Ouden Paus van Rome' or young popes of the old pope of Rome: Robbert Robbertsz Le Canu, *Ratelwachts roeprecht, tegent boeck vanden schijndeuchtsamen engel, ofte geest Cornelis van Hil* (s.l.: s.n., 1611), Knuttel 1839, ff. 3r–v.

20 Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, p. 270.

21 Den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt* III, p. 439; for the term 'Auslauf', see Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2007), p. 145.

22 Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, p. 256.

Chamber and the magistrates of The Hague on 13 January 1617.[23] The English ambassador Sir Dudley Carleton, although probably not present himself, wrote a report of this assembly. According to his account, the regents asked Maurice to prevent the Counter-Remonstrants from causing disturbances and, if necessary, to use his own princely guard or forces from outside the city to keep them in check. Maurice declined, arguing that his guard was there to protect only his own person and that military forces were for the defence of the country against foreign threats. In reaction to the continued pressure from the magistrates, Maurice 'called for the register-book, wherein his oath was set down, which he took in the year 86; at which time he entered into the charge he now holds for the service of the state'.[24]

The prince ordered the register-book for a purpose, it 'being read in all their presences, and therein this article noted in particular, that both he and the states do mutually bind themselves, even to the last drop of blood, for the defence of the reformed religion, which was the first ground of their quarrel, and for which his father lost his life'.[25] Carleton never made any attempts to disguise his sympathy for the Counter-Remonstrant camp, but if he can nonetheless be trusted in his account, Maurice invoked the memory of his deceased father William of Orange to point out that the Revolt had been foremost a struggle for the Reformed religion.[26] 'Sitting in the same chair which was anciently the place of the counts of Holland, [...] [where] he hath not been called before this time since 86', the prince commanded the magistrates to assign a building to the Counter-Remonstrants and allow them free worship.[27] Maurice's oath did indeed include a pledge for protection of the 'true Reformed religion'. Strictly speaking, it did not specify this to be the Counter-Remonstrant variant of the faith, even though this is what Maurice seems to

23 Den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt* III, p. 441; the term 'Delegated Councillors' is a translation of 'Gecommitteerde Raden'. This institution was the executive committee of the States of Holland: Robert Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot den val der Republiek* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980), pp. 224–226.

24 Dudley Carleton to Ralph Winwood, 14 January 1617, in: *Letters to and from Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt. during his Embassy in Holland from January 1615/1616 to December 1620*, edited by Philip Yorke (London: s.n., 1775), p. 87.

25 Ibid.

26 See also J. Bax, *Prins Maurits in de volksmeening der 16e en 17e eeuw* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1940), p. 25; Den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt* III, pp. 443–444.

27 Carleton to Winwood, 14 January 1617, in: *Letters to and from Sir Dudley Carleton*, edited by Yorke, p. 87.

have implied.[28] Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether the prince indeed acted as Carleton reported. It is obvious, however, that the ambassador thought it a good thing to have the Orange dynasty's support for the Counter-Remonstrant cause.

Carleton may not have been entirely representative of the Counter-Remonstrants, but he was an astute observer of Dutch politics and his accounts tend to be accurate, if perhaps somewhat simplified, reflections of Counter-Remonstrant sentiments. He wrote to the English secretary of state that 'the original cause of this disorder is easily discovered to be Arminianism: the effects will be faction in the state, and schism within the church'.[29] He continued his report ominously, writing that 'the factions begin to divide themselves betwixt his excellency and mons. Barnevelt, as heads, who join to this present difference their antient quarrels'.[30] These ancient quarrels concerned the negotiation of the truce with Spain and the Habsburg Netherlands. More recently, Maurice had also fallen out with Oldenbarnevelt over the advocate's wish to support the pro-Spanish and Catholic French government in its domestic struggles against Huguenot rebels, support which Maurice disapproved of.[31] To underline the urgency of his concerns, Carleton recounted the washing ashore of three whales—'a popular vanity of prognosticating change', which nevertheless he 'cannot omit'.[32] Two of them beached on the Island of Brill 'in the very places and instant time of these tumults'. Brill had been the place where in 1572 the rebels first took control. Carleton was all the more surprised because 'it is remembered, that at the first breaking out of these country wars, there were two of the like bigness driven on shore in the river of Schelde below Antwerp, and at the framing of the truce one here in Holland'.[33] Apparently, Carlton's informants frequently used the Revolt to interpret the current state of affairs.

On 23 July 1617, Maurice and his princely entourage openly attended Counter-Remonstrant services in the Kloosterkerk in The Hague, defying his

28 Hugo Grotius, *Verantwoordingh van de vvettelijcke regieringh van Hollandt ende VVest-Vrieslant* (Paris: s.n., 1622), p. 121; see also: C.P. Hofstedde de Groot, *Honderd jaar uit de geschiedenis der Hervorming in de Nederlanden (1518–1619)* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1883), p. 403.

29 Carleton to Winwood, 14 January 1617, in: *Letters to and from Sir Dudley Carleton*, edited by Yorke, p. 88.

30 Ibid., p. 89.

31 Den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt* III, p. 444.

32 Carleton to Winwood, 14 January 1617, in: *Letters to and from Sir Dudley Carleton*, edited by Yorke p. 89.

33 Ibid.

own Arminian preacher Uytenbogaert. Johan van Oldenbarnevelt saw the stadholder's behaviour as the provocation it was likely intended to be. The States of Holland adopted a *Scherpe Resolutie* or sharp resolution, which allowed cities to employ their own *waardgelders*, mercenary soldiers, to enforce toleration of religious nonconformists within the public church.[34] The English ambassador was one of the most vehement opponents of this measure. On 6 October 1617, he felt compelled to speak out against government support for the Remonstrants and addressed the States General who were assembled in The Hague. The text was subsequently printed and distributed.[35] Carleton explained that 'to seeke the originall of this euill any further backe then the time of Arminius professor at Leyden, were to disguise the fact'. He wanted to make clear that it was not the doctrinal documents of the Reformed church that were the source of all troubles but Arminius who was the culprit.[36] He provided a succinct history of the religious troubles and deplored the 'animosities and alterations betweene the magistrates, sowernesse and hatred amongst the people'. Then, he portrayed nostalgically the situation before the conflicts in the 1610s. Before the rise of Arminius and his schismatic behaviour, there had been 'vnion in the church and estate; good correspondence between the magistrates; Christian loue and charitie among the people'.[37] To solve the problems, Carleton urged the States General to hold a national synod: 'I say nationall, because the euill being passed from province to province, a provincial synode is not sufficient'.[38]

A national synod had been a tricky subject from the start of the religious troubles. First of all, delegating church affairs to a national synod was placing the matter out of the hands of the provincial government, and that was exactly what the Arminians did not want. As a minority, they needed government protection to counterbalance the orthodox Calvinist majority within the Reformed church. Furthermore, a national synod was seen by the majority of

34 Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, pp. 271–272.

35 Carleton to Thomas Lake, 22 November 1617, in: *Letters to and from Sir Dudley Carleton*, edited by Yorke, pp. 206–207; Jacob Taurinus, *Weegh-schael, om in alle billickheydt recht te over-vveghen de oratie vanden* [...] *heere Dvdley Carleton* [...] *inde vergaderinghe der* [...] *Staten Generael* (s.l.: s.n., 1617), p. 4.

36 Dudley Carleton, *The speech of Sir Dudley Carlton lord ambassador for the king of Great Britain, made in the assembly of the lords the Estates Generall of the vnited provinces of the Low Countries. Being assembled at the Haghe. Touching the discord and trovbles of the church and policie, caused by the schismatic doctrine of Arminivs* (London: William Iones, 1618), p. 2.

37 Ibid., p. 5.

38 Ibid., p. 6.

cities in Holland as a challenge to provincial sovereignty.[39] Carleton waved these objections aside. He made a rhetorical appeal as a foreigner: 'I will not play the busie-body in aliena republica, therein to iudge how much euery prouince in particular ought in such occasions to yield to the publike'. And then he proceeded to do just that: 'let them not forget the oath by which they are consolidated and closed up into one body which is the Vnion of Vtrecht grounded upon religion'.[40]

The Union (1579) was, *de facto*, the constitutional document of the Republic, and although it guaranteed the sovereignty of each province, especially in matters of religion, 'this ought to bee vnderstood'—according to Sir Dudley—'soundly for the maintenance of the pure and sincere religion'. The articles which prescribed provincial autonomy in matters of religion, notably article thirteen, were originally intended to allow Holland to uphold Reformed purity 'without being exposed to the will and pleasure of the other provinces which at that time were not reduced to such a union of the church as they enjoy at this present'.[41] Here, Carleton referred to the time around 1580 when, in many provinces in the east and south of the rebel United Provinces, the Reformed church was less developed and under constant pressure from Habsburg troops who were trying to reconquer the territory, quash the insurrection and 'recatholicise' the population. Now, the situation was different since the Reformed church had become the established public church in all of the provinces. The original intentions of the Union of Utrecht's articles about provincial autonomy regarding religious matters had been overtaken by the new reality of Calvinist hegemony.

In this historical setting propagandists from the Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant camps tried to convince the population of the validity of their viewpoints. Increasingly, secular political arguments complemented doctrinal arguments and memories of the Revolt became political weapons.

Who Was First?

Just as Catholics at the beginning of the Revolt had argued that Protestants wanted to undermine church teaching, Counter-Remonstrants accused their Arminian opponents of introducing novelties into the public church. The

39 J.G. Smit, ed., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal. nieuwe reeks, 1610–1670: derde deel, 1617–1618* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), p. 286.

40 Carleton, *The speech*, p. 7.

41 Ibid., p. 7; see for article 13 of the Union of Utrecht: Simon Groenveld, *Unie—Bestand—Vrede. Drie fundamentele wetten van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009), p. 65.

severest allegation was that Arminians sought to dilute the most important doctrinal documents of the Reformed church in the Netherlands so that Arminian ideas about predestination could become accepted practice. The Synod of Emden in 1571 had accepted the Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession, and it was the duty of consistories and classes to uphold them.[42] Counter-Remonstrants argued that both confessions had been fought for in the war against Catholic Spain. They felt that changing the catechism and confession would be tantamount to casting off the achievements of the Revolt.[43] Arminians found a way around the accusation that they sought to introduce novelties. Although Counter-Remonstrants perceived them as a religious group that had come into existence only in the early seventeenth century, Remonstrants argued that they acted more in the spirit of the Reformation than their adversaries.[44] Their Gomarist adversaries' claim of antiquity was clearly nothing compared to the antiquity of the Bible. Prince Maurice's Remonstrant court chaplain Johannes Uytenbogaert (who had been one of the first authors of the 1610 Remonstrance) was one of those who used this argument. In one of his pamphlets he sneered: 'The history of forty years on which the Counter-Remonstrants pride themselves is real novelty compared to the history of Holy Scripture and the first Christendom'.[45]

The focus on the Reformation may also be explained by the fact that the year in which the past turned into a battleground of the two opposing factions (1617) marked the centenary of Martin Luther's Reformation. Reynier Telle, a pro-Remonstrant satirist, recalled that 'it is a hundred years ago, neither less nor more, that Luther ventured to reform the Roman church and her

42 Trigland, *Kerckelycke geschiedenissen*, ff. *3r–*4v, pp. 18–19.

43 [Johan Casimir Junius], *Wederlegginge van de Weegschaal onlangs uytgegeven tegens d'oratie des ed. heere Dvdley Carletons* (s.l.: s.n., 1618), p. 154.

44 See for instance the discussion about the supposed *nieuwlichterij* of the Arminians in Uytenbogaert, *Copye* and its retort in [Jacobus Trigland], *Klaer |ende grondich teghenvertoogh, van eenighe kercken-dienaren van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt, gestelt tegen seker vertoogh der remonstranten* (Amsterdam: Marten Jansz Brandt, 1617); see also: Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 230.

45 Johannes Uytenbogaert, *Copye van seker vertooch onlanghs bij eenighe predicanten der ghereformeerde kercke ghedaen* [...]. *roerende de oudtheyt vande gereformeerde leere* (Delft: Bruyn Harmansz Schinckel, 1617), f. a3r: 'Een outheijt van 40. Jaren daer op de Contra-remonstranten stoffen is rechte Nieuwicheyt ten aensien vande oudtheyt des H. Schrift ende der eersten Christenheyt.'

perverted doctrine'.[46] The Reformation of Luther spawned many others, which the author enumerated concisely, explaining in a very accessible way the rise of so many denominations. He began with Calvin who started reforming the church of Geneva but 'gradually crept into the Netherlands, [where he] found many doors open.'[47] Yet, many others were not susceptible to Calvin's doctrines and chose to support other sects. Roughly around the same time Menno Simons gathered many followers. 'Then people had three Reformed churches here in the land, i.e. separated from the Pope.'[48] And all schisms within the church continued until the present. Now we have 'the Arminians dispute, as everyone knows, with the Gomarists.'[49] Telle sought to explain that Calvinism was only one way of being Reformed, a view that favoured the Remonstrant arguments.

Interestingly, though, the rhetoric of seniority also proved irresistible for the learned Arminian clergyman Uytenbogaert. To strengthen his argument, he told the reader that 'there are in these lands many preachers now dead, and some still alive, old men: who have declared and still declare never to have had a different sentiment than the current Remonstrants do now'.[50] He pointed to the example of Rotterdam preacher Jan Ysbrantsz, who from the very beginning of the Reformation in that city 'hearing of Calvin's predestination, already in that time publically refuted it, and that some old members noticing that some others sought to introduce it, departed for that reason from the church'.[51] And in the city of Hoorn, Clement Maertensz, one of the oldest

46 R.B. Evenhuis, 'Telle, Reinier', in: D. Nauta et al., eds., *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1978), pp. 375–376; Reynier Telle, *Vrede-zangh: ofte Jaer-liedt. Op de voleyndinge van de eerste hondert jaren, na de aengevangene reformatie der kercken 1617* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1617), f. a2r: ' 't Is hondert Jaer geleden / min / noch meer / Dat Luther heeft bestaen te reformeren / De Roomsche kerck / en haer verdorven leer'.

47 Telle, *Vrede-zangh*, f. a2v: 'Allencxkens tot in Neerlandt toe gekropen / By veelen heeft de deur gevonden open.'

48 Ibid., f. a2v: 'Daer hadd'men nu drie Kerken hier in 't Landt / Gereformeert / dat 's van de Paus geweken'.

49 Ibid., f. a2v: 'd'Arminianen twisten / Soo Yegelijck weet / met de Gomaristen.'

50 Uytenbogaert, *Copye*, f. a4v: 'Daer zijn in dese Landen veel Predicanten ghestorven / ende eenige die noch leven / oude mannen: die verclaert hebben ende noch verclaren / noyt ander gevoelen gehadt te hebben dan de Remonstranten nu doen / over dese materien'.

51 Ibid., ff. a4v–b1r: 'van Calvini predestinatie hoorende / de selve al op die tijt opentlick wederleyde / ende dat eenige oude lidtmaten merckende dan eenighe andere de selve sochten in te voeren / daerom van de kercke geweken zijn.'

retired clergymen in Holland, 'frequently declared that from the beginning of his service onwards he had had and had learned no other feeling regarding the predestination than that of Melanchton, and to have learned such from Hardenberg, one of the very first preachers of our reformation in Emden'.[52] Hence the Counter-Remonstrant claim of being more truly Reformed was, Uytenbogaert felt, inconsistent with reality. But perhaps more importantly, he thought it was necessary to draw on the recent past to argue his case.

What Would William of Orange Do?

By accusing them of jeopardising the religious achievements of the Revolt, Counter-Remonstrants had pushed Arminians into a defensive mode. In search of an effective offensive strategy, Arminian clergyman and propagandist Jacob Taurinus from Utrecht expanded the rhetorical repertoire of the Remonstrants by appropriating the Revolt's secular heritage. In one of his pamphlets, Taurinus addressed the 'Maiden of Holland' and tried to sway her to the Remonstrant cause. He reminded her of the province's illustrious history of independence: 'Eight hundred years and more it is past, that you have never been overlorded (although fiercely fought against)'. Is Holland now to abandon this proud tradition? 'That I think not: you have suffered too much, and fought too bloodily for more than forty years'.[53] The implication was that Remonstrants should be considered the true heirs of the Revolt's legacy.

In 1617, Taurinus wrote another influential pamphlet in which he adopted the national hero William of Orange as the retrospective protector of the Remonstrant cause.[54] According to Taurinus, a reconstruction of Prince

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52 Ibid., f. bir: 'heeft dickwils verclaert dat hy vanden aanvanck zijns dienstes geen ander ghevoelen gehadt heeft noch geleert en hadde / aengaende de predestinatie dan Melanchtonis / ende tselve geleert te hebben van Hardenbergio een vande aldereerste Predicanten onser reformatie binnen Emden.'

53 [Jacobus Taurinus], *Ernstighe aenspraeck, aen de maeght van Hollandt* (s.l.: s.n., 1617), p. 3: 'Acht-hondert Jaer en meer is het nu wel gheleden / Dat ghy noyt wierdt verheert (hoe wel seer sterck bestreden)'; 'Dat en geloov'ick niet: ghy hebt te veel geleden / En meer als veertich Jaer te bloedelijck ghestreden.'

54 [Jacobus Taurinus], *Na-Sporingh / hoe ende in vvat manieren, De door-luchtighe, ende hoogh-ghebooren vorst, de prince van Orangien, hooghloffelijcker memorie, de beschermenisse deser landen heeft aenghenomen, om de Nederlantsche Belijdenisse / als in allen deelen met Godts woordt accorderende / te mainteneren: en t'gevoelen der Contra-Remonstranten, int stuck vande predestinatie met den aencleven vandien, als Schrifmatich over al in te voeren* (s.l.: s.n., 1617); according to Carolina Lenarduzzi this is the first time that religious polemicists invoked the legacy of William of Orange for political purposes during the Twelve Years Truce: Lenarduzzi, "De oude geusen teghen de nieuwe geusen",

William's motivation for entering the war could be used to prove that he did not act primarily out of religious motives. The author could thus show that the Counter-Remonstrant pursuit of Calvinist orthodoxy contradicted the original intention of the Revolt. To prove his point, he cited well-respected histories and in doing so did not shy away from recalling painful episodes such as the Iconoclastic Furies of 1566. During these furies, Catholic church property was destroyed by Protestant fanatics. For Taurinus, the episode confirmed that religious extremism leads to unrest. He noted that, at the time, William of Orange 'could not condone the breaking of the images [...] for which reason he also did not remain without discredit or slander among part of the zealots'.[55] By 'zealots', Taurinus referred to militant Calvinists like Jan van Hembyze and Peter Dathenus from Ghent who had criticised Prince William's confessional elasticity in the 1570s and 1580s. The prince, then, had denounced religious extremists, even though it had made him unpopular among some of his supporters.

The pamphlet by Taurinus was not received at all well among Counter-Remonstrants. Carleton, especially, was not pleased. He called it a book of 'vulgar language in conformity to the discourse of mons. Barnevelt'. Like other Gomarists, he lambasted Taurinus' assertion that the Revolt was 'for civil respects only', and he claimed that this Arminian wanted 'to wound count Maurice through his father's sides'. In response, the ambassador insisted that William of Orange fought the war against Spain for three reasons: the inquisition, the building of citadels and the injustice, all three of which, he wrote, 'are now again practiced by the Arminian faction'.[56] Here we see that the ambassador gave his adversaries a taste of their own medicine. He came up with his own interpretation of the past in reaction to the Arminian propaganda.

The anonymous author of a particularly popular Counter-Remonstrant pamphlet entitled *The Right Track* [*De rechte spore*] was also disgusted by Taurinus' interpretation of history, stating: 'When I saw the title, I thought that a grateful Netherlander sought to circulate the highly praiseworthy deeds and name of the [...] prince'. That first impression proved false, however, for after having

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p. 73; yet, earlier instances are known; on the Remonstrant side: Johannes Uytenbogaert, *Verdedigingh vande resolvtie der* [...] *Staten van Hollant ende VVest-Vrieslant, totten vrede der kercken, teghen seker libel, gheintituleert Antwoort op drie vraghen* (Amsterdam: Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw, 1615), f. **3v; and on the Counter-Remonstrant side: Van Drielenburch, *Cort examen*, f. b1r.

55 [Taurinus], *Na-Sporingh*, p. 9: 'het af-breecken der Beelden niet en heeft toe-ghestaen [...] daer over hy dan oock niet sonder lasteringe ende op-spraec by een deel ijveraers en is gebleven.'

56 Carleton to Winwood, 30 October 1617, in: *Letters to and from Sir Dudley Carleton*, edited by Yorke, p. 196.

read the booklet, the anonymous author 'found that it was made in disparagement of his princely excellency's well-deserved and immortal honour'.[57] What stands out in this text is the elaborate scholarly apparatus. Just like Taurinus, he cited William of Orange's famous *Apology* (1581) multiple times. But the anonymous author disagreed with Taurinus' interpretation of the text. In the disputed section, William of Orange had written: 'I do not here (my Lords) want to enter into this question, which is the true religion'.[58] Yet, where Taurinus had left it at that, the anonymous author revealed that the prince's subsequent words clarified that he had merely thought religion was the domain of clergymen and therefore fell outside his own area of expertise. The view that religion was, according to Prince William, best left to the church must have been appealing to Counter-Remonstrants. For the reader who wanted to check for himself what William actually wrote, the anonymous author referred to: 'page 98 [of the *Apology*] that one can find in the last edition printed in Leiden anno 1609 or in the one printed in 1581 with Charles Silvius with the biggest type [on] page 165 or with the other type [on] page 111'.[59] By citing multiple editions, the author lent weight to his argument and undermined that of his adversary. He enabled his readers to look up his references and verify the authenticity of the citations while pointing to the sloppy and biased Arminian interpretation of the source.

Apart from his view that Taurinus misinterpreted the source, the author pointed out that in other writings the prince's concern for the maintenance of the Reformed religion was abundantly clear:

> If he were to research the many old writings, commissions, and instructions by the prince of Orange in the years 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, and subsequent years, until he was killed so cruelly and murderously [...] he would find this to have been his chief aim, above all to further the

57 Anonymous, *De rechte spore ende aenwijsinghe, dat de* [...] *prince van Orangien* [...] *de beschermínghe der Nederlanden heeft aenghenomen voor de waerachtige religie, tegen de tyrannije der Spangiaerden* (s.l.: s.n., 1617), p. 3: 'Als ick den Titel zach / meynde ick dat eenich danckbaer Nederlander de hoogh-loflicke daden ende name vanden [...] Prince / hadde willen verbreyden ende groot maken [...] maer int lesen van 't Boecxken zelve / bevandt ick dat het ghemaeckt was tot verkleyninghe van syne Pr. Excell. wel-verdient ende onsterflic Lof'.

58 Ibid., p. 5: 'wy en willen hier niet discuteren, myne Heeren, welcke de warachtighe Religie is.'; the translation of this citation is from William of Orange, *The apologie*, f. 03v.

59 Ibid.: Pag. 98. diemen vinden zal in de leste Editie ghedruckt tot Leyden Anno 1609 ofte in de ghene die ghedruckt is Anno 1581 by Charles Silvius mete grootste Letter pag. 165. oft mette ander Letter pag. 111.'

> honour and service of God, to protect the oppressed Christians, and maintain the privileges and liberties of these lands.[60]

Again like Taurinus, to bolster his agenda he cited well-known historians Pieter Bor and Emanuel van Meteren. Taurinus referred to these historians to demonstrate, for example, that William of Orange respected the authority of the provincial state assemblies, even when they were dominated by Catholics.[61] To him, this was evidence that Orange could not have been driven primarily by religion and that it was religious freedom the prince was after. The author of *The Right Track* read Bor and Van Meteren differently and concluded that William of Orange struggled 'against the duke of Alba and his Spanish and hispanicised followers', who in turn waged war against the heretics. William fought not for religious freedom but rather to defend the true reformed religion.[62] Such an interpretation placed the old prince in an entirely different light, namely as a protector of the faith and more specifically as the guardian of the Counter-Remonstrant confession.

The Trap of History

We have seen how a group who took the initiative of referring to the past to argue a case practically compelled its opponents to do the same. Another good example of this phenomenon is the way comparisons with the duke of Alba served to vilify one's opponent.[63] In the Counter-Remonstrant print entitled *Image of the Old and New Time* [*Afbeeldinghe van den ouden ende nieuwen tijdt*] we see Advocate Johan van Oldenbarnevelt presiding over a table in the presence of several of his advisors, one of whom is whispering evil advice into his ear (Figure 11). In the text beneath the picture two viewers discuss what they see. One of them exclaims: 'Hang on! Who do I see there? [...] Hey mate, look

60 Ibid., p. 13: 'Hy ondersoecke die menichfuldige oude Geschriften, Commissien ende Instructien by den Prince van Orangien in de Jaren 1567 / 1568 / 1569 / 1570 / 1571 / 1572 / ende naer volghende Jaren tot dat hy zoo wreedelijck ende moordadelijck om't leven ghebracht is [...] hy zal overal vinden dit voornoemde syn oocmerck gheweest te zijn / voor al de eere ende dienst Godes te vorderen / de verdructe Christenen te beschermen / ende de Landen in hare Privilegien ende Vrijheden te houden'.

61 Taurinus, *Na-Sporingh,* p. 7.

62 Ibid., pp. 12–13: 'tegen den Hertoge van Alba ende synen Spaenschen ende Gespangioliseerden aenhang.'

63 For a good overview of this practice, see Judith Pollmann and Monica Stensland, 'Alba's Reputation in the Early Modern Low Countries', in: Maurits Ebben, Margriet Lacy-Bruijn and Rolof van Hövell tot Westerflier, eds., *Alba: General and Servant to the Crown* (Rotterdam: Karwansaray, 2013), pp. 308–325.

FIGURE 11 Image of the Old and New Time, *Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-50.584 & 585.*

at it, how well it is cut: Ey let us have a look: is it not Barnevelt? The illustrious president, full of power and great force?'.[64] The other, however, replies: ' 'Tis a president alright, but he is named the duke of Alba'.[65]

And indeed, by flipping the top half of the picture the duke of Alba and his admirers suddenly replace Oldenbarnevelt and friends (Figure 12). In the background we see the Grand Place of Brussels in 1568 where the prominent counts of Egmont and Horne are about to be executed as political dissidents. The two persons in the text squabble for a bit about their discrepant interpretations, and then a third person enters the room. He understands the confusion and explains that there is, after all, not much difference between Oldenbarnevelt and the duke of Alba.

At the height of the conflict between the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, Maurice marshalled all the support he could get, charged Johan van Oldenbarnevelt with treason and ordered the advocate's arrest. The much-disputed National Synod had assembled at Dordrecht. It condemned Arminian theology and ordered the expulsion and exile of all Arminian clergymen who persisted in their doctrinal deviance. During one of his interrogations on 7 March 1619, the statesman Oldenbarnevelt pointed out that history was repeating itself. He named 'his two predecessors in office, Jacob van den Eynde, in the year 1568 [imprisoned] during the tyranny of the duke of Alba and Paulus Buys', who had been captured by the earl of Leicester.[66] His historical refer-

64 Anonymous, *Afbeeldinghe van den ouden ende nieuwen tijdt / Met een t'samenspraeck van Beste-maet en Botte-maet* (s.l.: s.n., 1618): 'Hola! Wat sie ick daer [. . .] Hey maet / aenschout het eens / hoe fray is dit ghesneden: Ey latet ons besien: En ist niet Barnevelt? Den President vermaert / vol macht en groot ghewelt?'

65 Ibid.: ' 't Is wel een President / Maer wort ghenaemt Duc d'Alb'.

66 *Verhooren van Johan van Oldenbarnevelt*, edited by Matthijs Siegenbeek (Utrecht: Keming en Zoon, 1850), p. 186: 'Daarop hij dier tijd lettende van 't geene zijn twee predecesseurs in

FIGURE 12 *And by flipping over the top half the duke of Alba appears in conference with his Council of Troubles.*

ence failed to change the mind of his judges. Oldenbarnevelt, then seventy-one years old, was beheaded on 13 May 1619.

In the face of more persecutions, Remonstrant authors, too, began to draw analogies with the duke of Alba. The duke, whose cruel image had been used to convince Netherlanders to keep on fighting against Spain, was now deployed by Remonstrants for a new purpose: to show that the religious zealots were squandering the liberty of conscience. Examples include an account of a Counter-Remonstrant disruption of an Arminian service. An anonymous author in 1619 criticised Counter-Remonstrant measures against clandestine Remonstrant preaching just outside Rotterdam, where Arminianism had also been banned. In his text, he denounced the hypocrisy of the Counter-Remonstrants: 'how often they generally shouted against the procedures against them by the duke of Alba [...] is still fresh in the memory'. But since the 'bloodthirsty Calvinists or Gomarists [...] by force of arms, have gained the upper hand' not much was left of these hard-won liberties.[67] In a handwritten propagandistic poem

offitio als Mr. Jacob van den Eynde, in den jaare 1568 onder de tyrannye van den hertoge van Alva, en Mr. Pouwels Buys'.

67 Anonymous, *Sommier verhael van de wreede handelinghe der bloet-dorstighe Calvinisten, ghepleeght teghen de Remonstranten buyten Rotterdam* (s.l.: s.n., 1619), pp. 3–4: 'hoe seer

circulating in The Hague, the juxtaposition between past and present is made even stronger:

> Duke of Alba has exercised tyranny in Holland
> On equal terms the Prince [Maurice] establishes dominion
> You ask why it happens?
> I say, that in the prince of Orange
> The duke of Alba's spirit has come from Spain.[68]

And in a letter he wrote on 2 April 1619, Uytenbogaert—who had gone into exile—justified his flight by arguing that he was 'allowed to escape and flee the perils [...] following the example of Christ, Paul and countless devout people, even among us (that is, during the times of the duke of Alba) who have all been fugitives.'[69]

The Conspiracy of 1632 in the Habsburg Netherlands

Catholic observers in the Southern Netherlands took delight in the civil conflicts in the Republic. They relished the political and religious turmoil in the North and considered it proof that Protestantism leads only to discord.[70] In a news report, one observer pondered the situation in the Republic: 'How it shall proceed, time will tell, it does not surprise me that the Beggars are now going to rob one another, the old Beggars [i.e. the rebels against Spain] have for

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zy doorgaens hebben gheroepen teghen de Proceduren die de Hertoghe van Alba teghen haer, in dese Nederlanden, heeft aangheleydt, is noch is verscher memorie'; 't'zedert de Bloedtghierighe Calvinisten oft Gommaristen aldaer, door t'gheweldt van Wapenen de overhandt hebben ghekreghen'.

68 Cited from Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen*, p. 360: 'Ducq d'Alba heeft gedaen in Hollandt tyrannie. / Op denzelven voet sticht den prins heerschappie. / Ghy vraecht waerom het geschiet? / Ick zegghe, dat in den prins van Oraengien / Ducq d'Alba's ziel gecomen is uyt Spaengien.'

69 H.C. Rogge, ed., *Brieven en onuitgegeven stukken van Johannes Wtenbogaert. Verzameld en met aanteekeningen uitgegeven. Tweede deel. Eerste afdeling: 1618–1621* (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1869), p. 40: 'dat het mij gheoorloft was de periculen [...] te ontgaen ende te vluchten, nae 't exempel Christi, Pauli ende ontallijcke vroome, selve oock bij onse (dat is de Hertoghe van Alva tijden), die al fugitif sijn gheweest.'

70 See for example: Sabbe, *Brabant in 't verweer*, pp. 15–66.

a long time robbed churches and convents, which were not their patrimony.'[71] In another news report, Counter-Reformation propagandist Richard Verstegan satirised the religious troubles in the North. As a running gag the author used the attribute 'predestined' pejoratively to ridicule the Northern troubles. Allegedly, a source from The Hague reported 'that the Gomarists and the Arminians who are quarrelling about the predestination, are predestined never to agree.'[72]

When a group of prominent exiled Remonstrant clergymen came to South Netherlandish Waalwijk in July 1619, they were received cordially by Bishop Nicolaas Zoesius of Den Bosch who was visiting the place. Much later in the seventeenth century, Philippus van Limborch, the biographer of the prominent Arminian Simon Episcopius who was a member of the exiled party, wrote about the get-together. Several of the Arminians were invited to supper in the local convent of Beguines. Probably unable to refuse such an invitation from a potential protector, the visitors entered the convent. The bishop extended his hand and spoke:

> be welcome brothers: I call thee brothers, even though we differ in matters of religion; for we all seek salvation through the same Christ. Your suppression pains me. The duke of Alba has done most damage to the Catholic faith through his tough placards and severe persecutions. It would surprise me if your States were to pursue their benefits with the same measures that have spoilt things for us.[73]

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71 *Waerachtich verhael van den Oploop, twist ende tweedracht gheschiedt tot Amsterdam in Hollant, hoe datse daer nv tegen malcanderen opstaen, de oude Geusen teghen de nieuwe Geusen, ende hebben malcanderen verjaecht, de Caluinisten teghen de Armenianen* [*sic*]*, gheschiet den xix. Februarij 1617* (Antwerp: Abraham Verhoeven, 1617), f. a4r: 'Hoe dat voorder vergaen sal wilt ons den tyt leeren / ten verwondert my niet dat de Geusen nu malcanderen gaen berooven / de oude geusen hebben kercken en cloosters berooft over lange tijt / dat en was hun Patrimony niet'.

72 Richard Verstegan, *De gazette van nievwe-maren, van de gheheele vvereldt. Ghemenght met oude waerheden. Hierby is oock ghevoegt eene wederlegginghe van eenighe onbequame Nederlandtsche spreuckwoorden* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1618), p. 42: 'Dat de Gomaristen ende de Arministen die twistich zijn om de predestinatie / ghepredestineert zijn nimmermeer te accorderen'.

73 Sabbe, *Brabant in 't verweer*, p. 20; Philippus van Limborch, *Leven van Simon Episcopius, Eertijdts Professor der H. Theologie tot Leyden* (Amsterdam: Izaak Pietersz, 1693), p. 248: 'Weest hertelijk welkom, broeders: ik noeme ulieden broeders, al is 't dat wy in veele poincten van de religie verschillen; want wy doch alle door eenen Christus onze zaligheyt zoeken. Uwerl. verdrukkinge is my van herte leed. Duc d'Alba heeft de Catholijke religie door harde placcaten en strenge vervolgingen de meeste afbreuk gedaan, en onze zaken

It seems unlikely that these were the bishop's exact words, and this tale is probably an example of Remonstrant myth-making. Pro-Remonstrant commentators liked to show that even in the Southern Netherlands people were reminded of Alba's tyranny when hearing of the persecution of Arminians in the Republic. What is certain, though, is that some Remonstrant refugees, including Episcopius, settled in Waalwijk and later in Antwerp. Local authorities saw generally no harm in the presence of the small group of outcasts from the Republic and granted them asylum. The relatively lenient attitude of the Habsburg authorities towards the Arminian heretics illustrates the successful religious transformation that the Southern Netherlands had undergone since the troubled period in the sixteenth century. The lands that had once been cradles for heretical thought had now become fully recatholicised in a Counter-Reformation that set an example to the whole of Catholic Europe.[74] The following section of the present chapter will look at the way in which the Revolt remained relevant in the South and examine how dominant readings of the past in the Southern Netherlands began to serve new agendas in domestic politics, just as in the North.

Unrest in the South

When the overlord of the Habsburg Netherlands, Archduke Albert, died in 1621, the Low Countries reverted to the Spanish crown in accordance with the Act of Cession of 1598.[75] As a concession to the Southerners for their loss of autonomy, Philip IV of Spain appointed Albert's widow Isabella as governor for the duration of her life. The transition from archducal to royal sovereignty in the Netherlands coincided with the resumption of the war. Spain's army commander Ambrogio Spínola captured Jülich and Steenbergen and seized the important frontier town of Breda in 1625 after a nine-month siege.[76] Yet, from 1625 onwards the war in the Low Countries was not going at all well for the Habsburgs. In 1627, the Spanish king went bankrupt, and the following year Admiral Piet Hein of the Dutch West India Company captured the Spanish treasure fleet at the Battle in the Bay of Matanzas near Cuba. The capture allowed the Dutch to spend more on their military forces while the financial

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grootelijks beschadigt. Zullen de Staten van uwe zijde voordeel voor haer bejagen door dezelve middelen die ons bedorven hebben, dat zal my verwonderen.'

74 Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, pp. 15–191.

75 *Collection de documents inédits* I, edited by Gachard, pp. 376–496.

76 René Vermeir, 'Oorloghsvloeck en Vredens Zegen. Madrid, Brussel en de Zuid-Nederlandse Staten over oorlog en vrede met de Republiek, 1621–1648', *BMGN* 115:1 (2000), pp. 5–6.

loss on the Habsburg side seriously undermined the Spanish war effort.[77] Partly as a result of this situation, Frederick Henry of Orange captured the important Brabant city of Den Bosch in the summer of 1629. Army commander Carlos Caloma wrote on 20 September 1629 to the count-duke of Olivares that 'the three successive setbacks of the past year have left more of an impression than all the efforts and catastrophes of 63 years of war.'[78]

The military defeats were not the only troubles challenging the regime. The indigenous elites in the South perceived an increase of Spanish interference in politics.[79] At the beginning of the reign of the archdukes, these elites had still felt consulted, but around 1610 they began to sense a loss of power to the central juntas that came to dominate the decision-making process.[80] René Vermeir has shown that Habsburg officials worried about the discontent among the clergy and nobility. The Spanish ambassador in Brussels, Francisco de Moncado, marquess of Aytona, in his letter to the count-duke of Olivares on 13 November suggested that although the people love the king, they hate the government of Isabella's counselor in the Netherlands, Cardinal Alonso de la Cueva, and the juntas in Brussels. As long as the king treated his people with affection and the army achieved at least some successes, Aytona argued, the people would be satisfied.[81] But no success was achieved, and the regime of the Southern Netherlands was deeply worried it might witness an uprising similar to the rebellion in the 1560s and 1570s, even though many people in government were too young to hold any personal recollections of that

77 Parker, *The Military Revolution*, p. 63.

78 Carlos Coloma to Don Gaspar de Guzmán, count-duke of Olivares, 20 September 1629, in: A. Rodríguez Villa, *Ambrosio Spínola, primer marqués de los Balbases: ensayo biográfico* (Madrid: Est. Tip. de Fortanet, 1904), p. 566: 'Mas impresion han hecho en los ánimos de esta gente estas tres desgracias sucedidas es un año cabal, que todos los trabejos y ruinas de sesenta y tres de guerra'; see also: René Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog: Filips IV en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1629–1648* (Maastricht: Shaker, 2001), p. 3.

79 Vermeir, 'How Spanish Were the Spanish Netherlands?', pp. 3–18; Jonathan I. Israel, 'De Spaanse monarchie tussen hamer en aambeeld', in: Paul Janssens, ed., *België in de 17de eeuw* (Gent: Snoeck, 2006), pp. 33–39.

80 M.G. de Boer, *Die Friedensunterhandlungen zwischen Spanien und die Niederlanden in den Jahren 1632 und 1633* (Groningen: Noordhoff, 1898), pp. 5–9; Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog*, pp. 12–13, 29.

81 Francisco de Moncado, marquess of Aytona to Don Gaspar de Guzmán, count-duke of Olivares, 13 November 1629, in: *Correspondance de la cour d'Espagne sur les affaires des Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle. Tome II: Précis de la Correspondance de Philippe IV avec l'infante Isabelle (1621–1633)*, edited by Joseph Cuvelier and Joseph Lefèvre (Brussels: Kiessling, 1927), pp. 489–490.

past. De la Cueva, born in 1572, and acting *maestro de campo general* in the Army of Flanders Carlos Coloma, born in 1566, in their letters to respectively Philip IV and Olivares compared the unrest of 1629 to the past troubles of 1566.[82] In a meeting of the Spanish Council of State on 21 December 1629, the Spanish Inquisitor-General Cardinal Antonio Zapata y Cisneros also ventured his concern that if a power vacuum like that following Governor Louis de Requesens' death in 1576 were to occur again, 'the Netherlands would be lost entirely.'[83] Memories of the troubles in the 1560s and 1570s served thus as a warning to the Habsburg regime not to repeat the same mistakes. They also motivated government authorities not to underestimate the revolutionary potential of a discontented nobility.

The coalition of nobility and clergy sought to restore its role in politics and decision-making and to negotiate a lasting peace with the North. The indigenous nobility was afraid of losing its political influence, and the clerics feared that military incompetence might result in the ultimate downfall of Catholicism in the South.[84] The archbishop of Mechelen Jacques Boonen and the premier noble of the Southern Netherlands, the duke of Aarschot, sent a petition to Isabella, at the end of 1629 or beginning of 1630, to voice their discontent.[85] In the name of 'the first two Estates of the Low Countries: clerics and nobles,' they referred repeatedly to the troubled period of Alba's government to bolster their argument that Spain should contribute more to the military budget.[86] The regime agreed to some concessions, which—as Vermeir has pointed out—were of a ceremonial nature rather than real political accommodations.[87] These concessions could not prevent a faction of dissatisfied nobles from conspiring against the Spanish king in 1632. They opened unauthorised

82 Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog*, p. 11.

83 Translation from Spanish into Dutch cited in: ibid., p. 13: 'de Nederlanden wel helemaal verloren zouden zijn'.

84 See Jan Roegiers, 'De universiteiten in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden,' in: *1648: de Vrede van Munster: handelingen van het herdenkingscongres te Nijmegen en Kleef, 28–30 augustus 1996* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), pp. 228–229.

85 T. Juste, *Conspiration de la noblesse belge contre l'Espagne en 1632* (Brussels: Aug. Decq, 1851), pp. 16–18.

86 'Proposicion que hicieron a su Alteza el arçobispo de Malinas u duque de Ariscot,' British Library, Add MSS 14.007, ff. 427–428; see also: René Vermeir, 'De grens verlegd. Het Zuiden zonder Sluis tijdens de Tachtigjarige Oorlog, 1604–1648', *Archief: Mededelingen van het Koninklijk Zeeuws Genootschap der Wetenschappen* 2004 (2004), p. 55.

87 Ibid., pp. 28–31.

peace negotiations with the North and cooked up plans for dividing the Southern Netherlands between France and the United Provinces.[88]

The Conspiracy of 1632

Historian Maurits Sabbe called the political unrest in 1632 'the only serious attempt at opposition against Spanish authority' in the Southern Netherlands since 1585.[89] In view of the events of 1566, when noble opposition had prompted popular rebellion against the Spanish king, the developments of 1632 were disturbing for contemporaries, in particular, the Habsburg authorities.[90] Count Henry van den Bergh, stadholder of Guelders, was one of the chief players in the conflict. In 1628 he had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Southern army as successor of Ambrogio Spínola. This appointment had angered nobles in Brussels, who had aspired to this post. When Den Bosch fell to the prince of Orange in 1629 and the city's surrounding bailiwick could no longer be defended against the prince, Van den Bergh's opponents seized the opportunity to spread slanderous accounts of his supposed incompetence and his immoral character.[91] Dismayed, he approached fellow dissatisfied nobles to take matters into their own hands. He openly defected to the enemy in June 1632. Former chairman of the financial council, René de Renesse, count of Warfusée also had reason to be unhappy. Warfusée claimed that the Spanish king, whose abysmal financial standing forced him to borrow or demand advances from his officials, still owed him arrears.[92] In April 1632, the count had secretly entered into negotiations with France and the United Provinces in The Hague regarding a military intervention in the South to expel the Spanish.

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88 René Vermeir, 'Le duc d'Arschot et les conséquences de la conspiration des nobles (1632–1640)', in H. Soly, ed., *Beleid en bestuur in de Oude Nederlanden* (Gent: Vakgroep Nieuwe Geschiedenis, 1993), pp. 477–481.

89 Sabbe, *Brabant in 't verweer*, p. 11.

90 René Vermeir, 'Het Spaanse bestuur te Brussel na 1621,' in: Paul Janssens et al., eds., *België in de 17de Eeuw* (Gent: Snoeck, 2006), p. 146; Yolanda Rodríguez Perez, *The Dutch Revolt through Spanish Eyes* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 203–204.

91 M.G. de Boer, 'Het verraad van Hendrik van den Bergh en de veldtocht langs de Maas', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 13 (1898), pp. 20–27; see for instance the loyalist Count Jan of Nassau-Siegen who told Jean-Jacques Chifflet 'horrible things about Count Henry van den Bergh: that he has committed treason against the king during his campaign': Jean-Jacques Chifflet to Jean-François Guidi di Bagno, 16 November 1629, in: 'Texte intégral des lettres', edited by De Meester de Ravestein, KBR, MS II 7277, f. 282: 'des choses horribles du Conte Henry de Bergues: qu'il a trahy le Roy en ceste campagne'; see also: Philippe Chifflet to Bagno, 15 February 1630, in: ibid., f. 305.

92 De Boer, 'Het verraad', p. 22.

Together with Warfusée, Van den Bergh contacted Prince Frederick Henry of Orange. The prince promised to replace existing plans to besiege Antwerp with a campaign along the Meuse River from eastern Guelders down south.[93] The Republic could then capture a string of Southern cities from Venlo to Maastricht. Warfusée and Van den Bergh promised Frederick Henry that they would feign ignorance of the prince's intention of pursuing the Meuse River campaign. Thus they were able to assist Frederick Henry by not warning their own master, Isabella, of the imminent danger.[94] The unrest which could result from the capture of important cities along the Meuse River would, they thought, increase their chances of successfully dividing the Southern Netherlands between the Republic and France and ending Habsburg rule in the Low Countries.

For the United Provinces, stirring up trouble in the South was a good strategy for weakening Habsburg authority. Reminding the Southern population of their previous protests against 'Spanish' domination and the Habsburg retaliation that followed might stimulate the population's grievances. Before the army of the prince of Orange was ready to march on Venlo and Roermond at the end of May 1632 the Northern States General issued a pamphlet in which they encouraged Southerners 'on the commendable example of their ancestors and predecessors [...] to cast off the heavy and unbearable yoke of the Spaniards'.[95] The pamphlet blamed the Spanish for their unwillingness to end the 'long-lasting and pernicious war', which the king of Spain started by his 'self-professed absolute Spanish rule.'[96] It linked the military fiascos as well as the presence of underpaid Spanish soldiers to the events that had followed Don Louis de Requesens' death in March 1576: a power vacuum in which Spanish soldiers mutinied and which culminated in the infamous Spanish Fury in Antwerp and the Pacification of Ghent. The pamphlet denounced Spanish violence (the Spanish are responsible for 'atrocious deeds, capturing, pillaging, murdering

93 Paul Janssens, 'L'échec des tentatives de soulèvement aux Pays-Bas sous Philippe IV (1621–1665)', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, 92 (1978), pp. 112–113; Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606–1661* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 184.

94 De Boer, 'Het verraad', p. 149; J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 445.

95 *Verklaringen vande hooghe ende mog. heeren Staten Generael* [...] *aende Nederlandtsche provintien ende steden, staende onder het ghebiedt vanden koningh van Spagnien, vanden 22. mey ende elffden septembris, 1632* (The Hague: s.n., 1632), f. a3v: 'op het loffelijcke exempel van hunne Voor-ouderen ende Predecesseuren haer willen ontrecken van het beswaerlijck ende ondraechlijck Jock der Spaigniaerden'.

96 Ibid., f. a2r: 'het langhduyrich ende Landt-verderffelijck Oorloghe [...] verweckt door de ghepretendeerde absolute Spaensche Heerschappie'.

and burning of cities'). This behaviour justified the Pacification of Ghent, the agreement in which the 'States of the united Netherlandish Provinces declared the Spanish to be their enemies.'[97] The parallel between the contemporary political circumstances and the past events of the Revolt, and more specifically the Pacification, is made stronger in another pamphlet issued a few months later by the States General: 'Give God our Lord, that the provinces may, just as they did fifty-six years ago, once more unite against Spain.'[98]

Van den Bergh's Manifesto and Habsburg Reactions

After Van den Bergh had feigned ignorance of the Meuse River campaign, he went to the neutral prince-bishopric Liège to organise an uprising against the regime.[99] He tried to win over the Southern population by sending out open letters to Isabella and the people of the loyal provinces.[100] Different copies of the manifesto circulated, but his main message was that the Spanish had failed to provide good governance.[101] He observed euphemistically that instances of Spanish malgovernance 'have already spoilt matters before,' presumably referring to the Spanish mutinies in 1576.[102] Within noble families, the past was kept alive and, if necessary, used for practical purposes. Count Henry, for example, defended himself against slander by making an emotional reference to his 'faithful services, for the time of forty years' and pointing out that he

97 Ibid., ff. a3v–a4r: 'grouwelijcke feyten / innemen / plunderinghe / moorderije ende brandinge der Steden', 'hier bevorens by de Heeren Staten vande samentlijcke Nederlandtsche Provintien verklaert zijnde voor Vyanden'; see also Juste, *Conspiration*, p. 29.

98 *Oude- |nieuwe vverelt, of Veranderinghe in dese Nederlanden met het overgaen van Maestricht te verwachten* (Nijmegen: s.n., 1632), Knuttel 4251, f. a3v: 'Gheeft Godt de Heere, dat de Provincien noch eens, ghelijck eenichsins voor ses een vijftich Jaeren haer met malckanderen teghen Spangien verbinden'; see also: B.H.M. Vlekke, *"Van 't gruwelijck verraet, in den jare 1638 op Maestricht gepractiseert": studies over de vestiging van het Staatsche gezag over Maastricht in de jaren 1632 tot 1639* (Antwerp: s.n., 1938), p. 15.

99 Balthasar Gerbier to Sir John Coke, 12 June 1632, TNA, SP 77/21 f. 241r; Frederick V, Elector Palatine to his wife Elizabeth Stuart, 17 June 1632, in: Nadine Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia. Volume II 1632–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 101.

100 Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*, pp. 185–186.

101 The declaration evidently circulated among government officials; see for example: Balthasar Gerbier to Sir John Coke, 18 June 1632, TNA, SP 77/21, ff. 245r–252v; Balthasar Gerbier to Elizabeth Stuart, 26 June 1932, in: Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondance*, p. 105.

102 Henry van den Bergh, *Copye van twee brieven, dewelcke* [. . .] *graeff Hendrick van den Berghe* [. . .] *gheschreven heeft* (Leiden: s.n., 1632), f. 2v: 'hebben teenmaan de saken bedorven'.

had six brothers loyally serving their overlord.[103] When Van den Bergh thus appealed to the glorious deeds of his brothers and forefathers, he meant to say to Philip IV and Isabella: how could you question my loyalty?

Van den Bergh's family past, however, was problematic, as one contemporary chronicler was keen to remark. He referred to Johan van den Sande's edition of Everhard van Reyd's history of the Revolt to argue that Van den Bergh's conduct was 'similar to the count's father, Count William van den Bergh [who] through willful neglect surrendered Zutphen [in 1583] to the prince of Parma'.[104] William IV van den Bergh had indeed been a rebel but chose to reconcile with the king. Critics used this story to show that Count Henry's treason was customary in his family while at the same time praising his father William IV for choosing the 'right' side. The chronicler continued that in this matter Henry 'was more contemptible [...] and his father commendable [for] he sought to reconcile with God and his king'.[105] In his justificatory writings, Count Henry tried to disarm his opponents by claiming that he had a 'natural affection for the good of the country', and therefore was entitled to venture his dissatisfactions.[106]

Count Henry's declaration circulated in Southern cities and could rely on some public support. When Frederick Henry laid siege to Maastricht on 6 June the loss of the city was feared, which caused unrest not only among the elites but also among the ordinary citizens of Southern cities. A few days after the beginning of the siege Isabella's chaplain wrote in desperation to the former papal nuncio in Brussels, Cardinal Jean-François Guidi di Bagno: 'if God does not do miracles, I do not know what will happen'.[107] On 9 June,

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103 Henry van den Bergh, *Declaration que son excellence le conte Henry de Bergh, maistre de camp general a fait pour le plus grand bien et repos dy pays* (Liege: s.n., 1632), p. 4: 'mes fidels sevices, rendu l'espace de quarante ans'; another example is Jan van Montmorency, count of Estaires who in 1632 sought royal reconfirmation of his own and the nobility's privileges by emphasising that his father had died in battle in 1585: see: Vermeir, *In Staat van Oorlog*, p. 31.

104 Anonymous, 'Chronycke van Nederlant, 1523–1636', KBR, MS 10245–6, f. 180r: 'gelijck desen sgraven vader, graef willem vanden bergh, door moetwilligh versuijm sutphen aen den prins van parma over gaf'.

105 Ibid., f. 180v: 'meerder te misprijsen [...], ende synen vader te prijsen, die sich selven met godt, ende synen koninck socht te versoenen'.

106 Henry van den Bergh, *Manifeste dv comte Henry de Bergh, Maistre de Camp General de l'Armée du Roy d'Espagne. Avec ses lettres escriptes à l'Infante, aux Prelats, Nobles, & aux Villes des Pays-Bas, sur le sujet de la prise de ses armes contre les Espagnols* (Bordeaux: Jacques le Coq, 1632), p. 8: 'naturelle affection au bien du pays'.

107 Philippe Chifflet to Jean-François Guidi di Bagno, 8 June 1632, in: 'Texte intégral des lettres', edited by De Meester de Ravestein, KBR, MS II 7277, f. 435: 'Si Dieu ne fait des miracles, je ne scay ce qu'en sera'.

diplomat Balthasar Gerbier wrote to English secretary of state Sir John Coke that 'the inhabitants of Antwerp were yesterday in very great perplexity' because of the siege of Maastricht.[108] Gerbier wrote to Coke on 26 June that Van den Bergh's declarations 'give rise to seditious discourses'.[109] Also on 26 June, some people vandalised an escutcheon of the king, and 'Vive le prince d'Orange' was shouted in the streets of Brussels.[110] A few days later, Philippe Chifflet informed Cardinal Guidi di Bagno that 'following Henry van den Bergh's manifestos his heretical consorts and partisans, fourteen or fifteen of them, have this night broken an image of the king'. Also, they 'shouted in the streets that the Papists and the Spanish should be killed'.[111] Chifflet was an ardent supporter of the regime and horrified at what was happening around him. On 15 June he had already written that

> it is time, monseigneur, to open our eyes to see that by the overthrow of the house of Austria, the church would lose the most beautiful fleuron of its crown [...] it is the only and most powerful rampart against the infidel and the heretic and, should it fall, Christianity becomes prey.[112]

In his letter of 25 June, Chifflet with a touch of drama included the States of Brabant who, after the unrest in Brussels 'hastily assembled', and in their meeting threw themselves at the feet of Isabella, renewing their oaths.[113] 'The ladies

108 Balthasar Gerbier to Sir John Coke, 9 June 1632, TNA, SP 77/21, f. 238r: 'Les Habitans de Anvers en estoyent hier en une perplexité tres-grande.'

109 Balthasar Gerbier to Sir John Coke, 26 June 1632, TNA, SP 77/21, f. 274: 'ces declarations causent icij des discours seditieux'.

110 De Boer, 'Het verraad', p. 31; also Gerbier continued to discuss the revolutionary potential of Count Henry van den Bergh's movement against the regime: see Gerbier to Coke, 3 July 1632, TNA, SP 77/21, ff. 288v–289r.

111 Philippe Chifflet to Jean-François Guidi di Bagno, 28 June 1632, in: 'Texte intégral des lettres', edited by De Meester de Ravestein, KBR, MS II 7277, f. 445r: 'En suite des manifestes dudit comte Henry, les Hérétiques ses consorts et partisants ont, cette, nuict, au nombre de 14 ou 15, brisé l'image du Roy [...] et crié par les rue qu'il falloit tuer les Papaux et les Espangols'; see for the published edition of summaries of the letters: *Lettres de Philippe et de Jean-Jacques Chifflet sur les affaires des Pays-Bas* (*1627–1639*), edited by Bernard de Meester de Ravestein (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1943).

112 Philippe Chifflet to Bagno, 15 June 1632, in: 'Texte intégral des lettres', edited by De Meester de Ravestein, KBR, MS II 7277, f. 443: 'Il est temps, Monseigneur, d'ouvrir les yeux et de veoir que, par l'abaissement de la maison d'Austriche, l'Eglise perd le plus beau fleuron de sa couronne [...] c'est le seul et le plus puissant rampart contre l'infidelle et l'heretique et, si le boulevart tombe, la chrestienté est en proye'.

113 Chifflet to Jean-François Guidi di Bagno, 28 June 1632, in: ibid., f. 445: 'assemblés hastivement'.

of the queen [Maria de Medici], who were present', Chifflet wrote, 'began to cry with joy and have admired the resolution of the good patriots and the loyal Catholics'. Nevertheless, the Habsburg authorities were concerned and decided to act quickly.[114]

An important reaction to Count Henry van den Bergh came from Isabella from 25 June onwards. The archduchess wrote several open letters, which were printed and addressed to the Southern States General (convoked again in 1632 for the first time since 1600), to the prince-bishop of Liège Ferdinand of Bavaria, to Liège's privy council and to Van den Bergh himself. Isabella declared herself to be saddened by the count's actions, 'forgetting all honours and benefactions that he has received.'[115] She condemned his behaviour and cautioned the Southern States that Van den Bergh's remonstrations were deceptive. He would only bring the country to ruin. To increase the urgency of her warning she referred to 'the things which happened in the past, in the years seventy-six, seven, eight and nine, which we expect the eldest of you still to hold memory of.'[116] This warning to the States hence served a clear purpose. Isabella understood that she could not afford to dissociate herself from the indigenous political elite as that might drive them into the hands of the discontented nobles and clerics. By invoking the past turmoil and civil conflicts she appealed to the Southern population to ignore Henry van den Bergh's rhetoric.

Whether or not Isabella's open letters made an impact, Henry van den Bergh's were poorly received.[117] His close friend and brother-in-law Count Floris II of Culemborg (1598–1639) wrote a letter to break the news.[118] Van den Bergh replied on 8 July 1632 that he 'had read the letter with a greatly saddened heart' and that 'God in his eternity knows that it pains me from the bottom of my heart that the manifesto does not have more of an impact than it has until now'. But he added with a touch of optimism that he would remain patient,

114 Ibid.: 'Les Dames de la Reyne, qui estoient présentes, se sont mises à pleurer de joye et admiré la résolution des bons patriotes et fidèles Catholiques'.

115 *Lettres de la serenissime infante et d'autres, touchant les actions du comte Henry de Bergh* (Brussels: s.n., 1632), p. 3: 'mettant en oubly tant d'honneurs & bienfaicts qu'il avoit reçeuz.'

116 Ibid., pp. 4–5: 'les choses cy devant passées, mesmes és années septantesix, sept, huict, & noeuf, desquelles nous tenons les plus anciens d'entre vous bien memoratifs.'

117 Paul Janssens, 'De landvoogdij van Isabella, 1621–1633', in: *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 6 (Haarlem: Fibula—Van Dishoek, 1977–1983) p. 381.

118 Floris II of Culemborg to Henry van den Bergh, s.d.: 'Stukken betreffende de apologie van graaf Hendrik van den Bergh na zijn overgang naar Staatsche zijde', Gelders Archief, archief Heren en graven van Culemborg, inv. 411, f. 80; the letter was probably written before the reply of Van den Bergh on 8 July 1632 but after 18 June, the date of Van den Bergh's manifesto.

at least until Maastricht had fallen.[119] As the weeks went by, however, it became clear to Count Henry that the predicted success of his manifesto would probably fail to materialise, even after the eventual fall of Maastricht. At the same time, there was no going back from his rebellion against the regime. On 5 July, the Great Council of Mechelen had charged the count with *lèse majesté* and ordered his arrest.[120] Count Henry refused to surrender. Instead, he sought a way to clear his reputation, if not in the eyes of the Habsburg authorities then at least in the court of public opinion which might still be swayed to sympathise with him. On 6 August 1632, Van den Bergh wrote a letter to his sister, Catharina, in which he asked her for advice on how to go about writing an apology.[121] On the same day he wrote a similar letter to his sister's husband, Floris II: 'so I beg you, sir, for the sake of our friendship, to inquire if there is a competent man in Holland who is willing to come to me in order that he, after having listened to my arguments, may assist me.'[122] Further on in the letter he drew a comparison between his own text and William of Orange's *Apology* from 1581: 'I was told that when the old prince fell from the king's grace, an operation against the prince was put into effect and that the prince had commissioned

119 'Graaf Hendrik van den Bergh aan graaf Floris II', Gelders Archief, archief Heren en graven van Culemborg, inv. 458, f. 79: 'iech hab U.L. briff wol met bedroften hertzen gelessen Godt wet in der ewicheit das es mir wol aus grunt mines hertzen let dot dat dat manifest nit mer operirt als es bist nue zu gedan hefft'; also cited in part in De Boer, 'Het verraad', p. 95.

120 *Adiournemen dv Comte Henry de Berghes, par le président et autres seigneurs du Grand Conseil de Malines* (Mechelen: s.n., 1632); see also: Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saken van Staet en Oorloch, In, ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden, Beginnende met het Jaar 1621, ende eyndigende met het Jaar 1632* (The Hague: Johan Veely, Johan Tongerloo and Jasper Doll, 1669), p. 1198; on 12 July, Philippe Chifflet informed Jean-François Guidi di Bagno of the verdict and added as postscriptum that 'we have celebrated the vigils of the anniversary of the late Archduke [Albert]' ['nous avons célébré les vigiles de l'anniversaire du fut Archiduc'], in: 'Texte intégral des lettres', edited by De Meester de Ravestein, KBR, MS II 7277, f. 453.

121 Count Henry van den Bergh to Countess Catharina of Culemborg née Van den Bergh, 6 August 1632, Gelders Archief, archief Heren en graven van Culemborg, inv. 459, f. 22.

122 Count Henry van den Bergh to Count Floris II of Culemborg, 6 August 1632, Gelders Archief, archief Heren en graven van Culemborg, inv. 458, f. 21: 'soe bidt iech U.L. hir met gans dinstelich mir de frinschap willen don und lassen doch dar in Hollant um hoeren ouff men mi rein bequam man dar solde kommen bekomen de hir bie mich wolde kommen um alle mine Reden gehort hebbende mich mochte assistiren.'

a reply to the accusations. If one could get hold of a copy that would be highly profitable for me in order to make a beginning of my own text.'[123]

On 26 August 1632, the city of Maastricht finally fell, marking the end of the Republic's successful campaign along the Meuse River and the worst loss for the Habsburg regime since Frederick Henry had captured Den Bosch in 1629. Northern pamphlets celebrated the military success of Prince Frederick Henry. In one of them, a triumphal song, organist and mathematician Wynant van Westen commented on the situation in the Southern Netherlands:

> All Brabant is in commotion, heads are tumbling, the nobility is up in arms, the common people are on the move
> Lady Isabel, to whom the troubles are most distressing, fears Antwerp's strong castle, and the capture of Brussels.[124]

Van Westen satirised Philip IV of Spain, presenting a desperate king who lamented his fate: 'where are now my Granvelles? Where is Farnese? And where is the duke of Alba?'[125] The author juxtaposed contemporary civic unrest, resulting from the military defeats, with the past: when the current monarch's grandfather, Philip II, had been king and was guided by gifted yet contentious councilors such as Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, and of course the duke of Alba. But now, as Van Westen congratulated himself, these men were gone and the Southern Netherlands were in a state of uproar. The marquess of Santa Cruz, the highest Spanish army commander of the Army of Flanders and successor to the traitor Van den Bergh, was also the target of the people's displeasure. A satirical pamphlet parodied the Lord's Prayer and heavily criticised Santa Cruz:

> Our father, who art in Brussels / Here your name is damned / Your will is of no value / Neither in the heaven nor on earth / You take our daily bread / Our women and children live in dread / You forgive no one his guilt / Because with hatred and malice you are filled / Our father who is

123 Ibid., f. 21; See also De Boer, 'Het verraad', p. 21 on this quote and on the particulars regarding Van den Bergh's apology.

124 Wynant van Westen, *Nassausche vrevgden-sangh, over de* [...] *veroveringhe der machtighe stadt Maestricht* (Nijmegen: s.n., 1632), f. b2v: 'Gansch Brabant is in roer, De Hoofden gaen op rollen: Den Adel op de been, 't gemeene volck aen 't hollen / Vrouw Isabel, die 't meest der landen onlust deert, vreest Antwerps vast slot, en Brussel overheert.'

125 Ibid., p. 5: 'Waer zijn nu al mijn Granvellen? Waer Farnees? En waer Duc d'Alv?'

in heaven / Deliver us from this hound of hell / That he may return to Spain / to make fig baskets.[126]

This song was not new: it had been sung before in 1572 to taunt the government of the duke of Alba.[127] In March 1572, lawyer Philip van Campene from Ghent had written in his diary: 'On the XVIth, small notes in disparagement and dishonour of the duke of Alba were found lying on the streets of the city, in which he is portrayed as someone without compassion and pity for his neighbours [...] And this was drawn up in a rhetorical poem, with a prayer to the Lord, for deliverance of such hellish demon, done in the way of Christ's prayer, Paternoster.'[128] A sixteenth-century format of criticising the current regime could thus be reused more than half a century later.

To minimise the damage and bolster the political argument of the regime, the Southern government also spread a declaration which appealed to the public memory of the Revolt.[129] The pamphlet *La Flandre Fidelle* alleged that Van den Bergh was in league with the enemy. It was probably the Habsburg

126 Jacob Lievensz van Rogge, *Een Nieu Geuse Liedt-Boeck waer in begrepen is den gheheelen handel der Nederlantsche Oorlogen / vanden Jare 1600. tot op het Jaer 1645* (Haarlem: Robbert Tinneken and Jan Pietersz. de Does, 1645), p. 162: 'Onsen vader, die te Brussel syt, / Uwen name is hier vermaledyd, / Uwen wil is nergens van waerden, / Noch in den hemel noch op der aerden, / Ghy beneemt ons dagelickx broot, / Onse vrouwen en kinderen hebben 't noot, / Ghy vergheeft niemandt syn schuldt: / Want ghy syt met haet en nydt vervult, / Onsen vader, die in den hemel syt, / Maect ons desen helschen hond quyt, / Dat hy in Spaengien magh geraken, / Om aldaer vyghenkorven te maken'.

127 Anonymous, 'Paternoster aen den Marquis de Santa Croce tot Brussel gestroyt' (1633), in: *Nieuw geuzenlied-boek: waarin begrepen is den gantschen handel der Nederlanden, beginnende anno 1564 uit alle oude geuzenlied-boeken bijeenverzameld*, edited by H.J. van Lummel (Utrecht: H. Honig, 1892), p. 521; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 127.

128 De Potter, ed., *Dagboek van Cornelis en Philip van Campene*, pp. 388–389: 'Den XVI[en] zijn binnen deser stede ghevonden, op straete ligghende, briefkins ter blaempte ende onheere vanden Hertoghe van Alve, daer hij staet ghedenommeert als eenen, die gheen compassie noch melijden en heeft met zijnen naersten [...] Ende [dit] was ghestelt in rhetorijcxe dichte, met een ghebet anden Heere, omme van sulc eenen helschen duvele ontsleghen te zijne, ghemaect opde maniere van tghebet Christi, Onse Vadere'; Johan Verberckmoes, *Schertsen, schimpen en schateren. Geschiedenis van het lachen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, zestiende en zeventiende eeuw* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1998), pp. 168–169; for an English translation of this version see: John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (London: Routledge, 1882), p. 544.

129 Bartelemy de Guret, *La Flandre fidelle. Ov discovrr politique svr la revolte dv comte Henry de Bergh. Dedié au roy. Par le sieur gentilhomme originaire de la comté de Sainct Paul* (s.l.: s.n., 1632), Knuttel 4238, f. a2r.

government in Brussels who ordered the pamphlet to be written under the pseudonym of Bartelemy de Guret. In his open letters written from Liège, Van den Bergh had branded the Spanish as a cruel and tyrannical people. The author of *La Flandre Fidelle* challenged that assessment and stressed that there were others who found the Spanish nation one of world's most virtuous. He reached the conclusion that neither of these stereotypes should be advanced by anyone and disputed the popular Black Legend about the alleged innate cruelty Spanish people exhibited in their territories. The author wrote that

> in all nations there are those who are capable and those unworthy, those good and those bad [...] and it is not always the good who are employed in government. That is why it is not reasonable to impute to the nation at large, the vices and errors of individuals. It is necessary to judge everything without passion, where there are good Spaniards there are bad ones too.[130]

Northern propaganda had drawn a tendentious picture of the Revolt, vilifying Spain. In his pamphlet, the author presented an alternative version by focusing on the disloyalty of the rebels during the Dutch Revolt and by drawing a parallel with Henry van den Bergh seeking aid abroad.

René Vermeir has convincingly argued that *La Flandre Fidelle* was probably a government-endorsed publication because the text mirrored the Habsburg arguments that were used in later texts that served to brand France and the Republic as the ultimate villains, such as the *Mars Gallicus*, written by Cornelius Jansenius, which will be analyzed in chapter 5.[131] Furthermore, nothing is known about the author, the fictional gentleman Barthelemy de Guret. In any case, censors would not have allowed this political text to be published had it not supported the viewpoint of government officials. The author of *La Flandre Fidelle* dedicated his tract to Philip IV to convince him that the Southern population at large had nothing to do with the insurgence of a small group of nobles. He reminded his overlord that his right to rule had long been established and claimed that what he called 'nos malheurs' could

130 Ibid., f. b2r: 'De toutes nations, il s'en trouve des capables & des indignes, des bons & des mauvais [...] ce ne sont pas toujours les meilleurs qui sont employez au gouvernement de l'Estat. C'est pourquoy il n'est pas raisonnable d'imputer à la generalité d'une nation, les vices & les erreurs que commettent de particuliers. Il faut iuger de toutes choses sans passion, il y a des bons Espagnols, aussi en y a il des mauvais'.

131 Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog*, pp. 168–169.

not be blamed on the Spanish regime. De Guret turned the argument around by arguing that it was not the Habsburg authorities and their advisors who were oppressing the population; it was the malcontents who were doing so by making common cause with the enemy. To prove his point he directly referred to the past: 'On this topic, the histories are plentiful', and further on in the text added that 'sixty-six years of war have provided us with hundreds and hundreds of examples of the insolence of Hollanders'.[132] Although Philip IV was the addressee, the text's real target was the Southern population.

Political texts in the Southern Netherlands generally paid little attention to the Revolt, but with *La Flandre Fidelle* the Habsburg government broke with this convention. The author gave a positive spin to the Union of Arras in 1579 and to the early reconciliation of the Walloon provinces with the Spanish king, 'the service of which remained deeply etched in their hearts'.[133] Although they had voiced their discontent and had perhaps engaged in some dubious activities against the Habsburg regime, they brought a 'happy ending' to their attempts by always remaining 'loyal malcontents'.[134] It was a different story with Henry van den Bergh, the author argued, because although he had pretended to fight for 'the good of the religion, the king and the country,' he had collaborated with the enemy *before* he had made his grievances public. And what good can be said, the author asked rhetorically, about one who is not ready to face the storm and, instead, retreats to safety?[135]

The author explained that, through resolve and resilience, the regime in the 1580s had managed to reconcile Southern provinces once again to its cause. But this had not been easy. He referred to the public memory of the situation of fifty-five years before 1632, in 1577, when Don John of Austria faced the challenging task of regaining the Low Countries with only Namur and Luxembourg as his base. His successor had put an end to the unrest in the Walloon provinces. 'The duke of Parma, having assembled the pieces of our debris,' he wrote, 'reestablished the Catholic party in its entirety.'[136] Owing to Parma's prodigious military skills, other Southern provinces followed. Why, then, the author asked, had Count Henry jeopardised these hard-won achievements? To gain freedom from Habsburg centralism is the implicit answer. But the author presented

132 De Guret, *La Flandre fidelle*, f. b1v: 'Les histoires en sont pleines'; and f. c3r: 'soixante six ans de guerre nous ont furny cent & cent examples de l'insolence des Hollandois'.

133 Ibid., f. b3v: 'le service de laquelle demeuroit profondement grave dans leur coeur'.

134 Ibid.: 'Ainsi eust une heureuse fin ceste enterprise de fideles malcontens.'

135 Ibid.: 'le bien de la Religion, du Roy & du Pays'.

136 Ibid., f. b4v: 'Le Duc de Parme ayant recueilly les pieces de nostre debris, restablit le party Catholique en son entier.'

the example given by the Republic, and by Holland in particular, as unworthy of emulation. By reminding his audience of the religious struggles between Counter-Remonstrants and Remonstrants, the author hoped to convince them that freedom of religion leads only to discord.[137] And 'although the Arminians are less dangerous, they are of another religion than us, and should we be governed by the one or the other, we would always be under the yoke of heretics'.[138]

One of the most serious allegations against Van den Bergh was that he was in league with the enemy, just as the rebels were before him: 'some people who were powerful in our States General once called hither a duke of Anjou and in Holland people had an earl of Leicester act on their behalf'.[139] Here the author pointed to the 1580s to reject this kind of treachery but also to show that no good could be expected from such foreign interventions: '[Anjou] set his mind to making us French, and the other [Leicester] to ruining and subjecting the party he commanded to the crown of England.'[140] The author arrived at the crux of his argument: 'Indeed, if it is necessary to chase away all Spaniards, it is necessary to dismiss the archduchess, who is Spanish and to abjure the king, who is Spanish also.'[141] If Van den Bergh did not want a Spanish administration in the South, what, then, did he want?[142] Van den Bergh's plans for a governor checked by powerful nobles and native officials were, according to the author, reminiscent of the days when 'the old prince of Orange' invited the duke of Anjou as the new sovereign. Although handing over sovereignty to the duke, William of Orange imposed so many restrictions upon him 'so that he did not serve but as a fool's bauble'.[143]

The Outcome of the 1632 Memory War

The discontented nobles could not find enough support for their protests against the Habsburg authorities, neither among themselves nor among the general population in the South. Despite all fears for revolution, then, the sum-

137 Ibid., f. c3v.

138 Ibid.: 'quoy que les Arminiens soyent moins dangereux, si sont ils d'autre Religion que nous, & soit que nous soyons gouvernez par les uns ou les autres, nous serions tousiours soubs le ioug des heretiques'.

139 Ibid., f. b2v: 'quelques uns qui avoient le plus de pouvoir en nos Estats Generaux ont autrefois appelle un Duc d'Aniou, puis on s'est servy en Hollande d'un Comte Leycestre'.

140 Ibid.: 'l'un a employé toutes les pensées à nous rendre François, l'autre à ruiner & assubiettir le party auquel il commandoit à la couronne d'Angleterre'.

141 Ibid., ff. d1r–v: 'Certes s'il faut chasser tous les Espagnols, il faut chasser S.A. qui l'est, & adiurer le Roy qui l'est ausi'.

142 Ibid.: 'quel sera le pied du nouveau gouvernment dont parle le Comte Henry?'

143 Ibid., f. d1v: 'qu'il ne servist que de marotte'.

mer of 1632 remained quite calm.[144] Appeals to the traumatic past failed to convince the war-weary Southern population to side with Count Henry and his supporters. The same chronicler who cited William IV van den Bergh's defection in 1583 wrote that the absence of a popular rebellion was to be expected

> because people would be very wicked, indeed, if they let themselves be deceived for the second time. The examples [of the first time] are still fresh in the memory of the Catholics: how they had a net thrown around their head at the beginning of their rebellion against God and the king of Spain Philip the Second.[145]

The States General of the North had also miscalculated Southern enthusiasm for the nobility's conspiracy. Philippe Chifflet wrote on 12 July 1632 that the people in the Netherlands were so fearful of falling into the hands of heretics that a popular uprising was not to be expected.[146] Isabella had a different explanation for the success of her approach. She wrote to Philip IV that through her constant concern for remaining in the population's favour she had prevented the reoccurrence of a revolt, which, she wrote, stood in sharp contrast to what the 'previous [governors]' had achieved. Isabella thus compared her own performance to that of her predecessors who dealt with the beginning of the troubles from 1566 onwards, and she congratulated herself that she had done rather well.[147] The regime had learned an important lesson from the past: act quickly on signs of rebellion but also maintain the population's favour through persuasion rather than coercion. The lessons that the past offered did not end here. Isabella implored Philip IV to make haste in sending her successor Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand to the Netherlands. By 1632 it had become clear to Isabella and to most Habsburg officials that a natural prince and army commander would be the only solution to the unrest facing the land. Perhaps, Isabella thought aloud, it would be best to ask him to lay down his cardinal's hat because people in the Netherlands have a great dislike of cardinals, no

144 Paul Henrard, *Marie de Médicis dans les Pays-bas* (Paris: Baudry, 1876), p. 252.

145 'Chronycke van Nederlant, 1523–1636', KBR, Ms. 10245–6, f. 178v: 'want sauden voorwaer wel groote slechte menschen moeten wesen / die hen sauden laten bedriegen voor den tweeden keer, waer van dat de exempelen noch alte versch syn in de memorie vande catholijcken, hoe datse hun het net over het hooft hadden getrocken int beginsel van hare rebelligheijt tegens godt en den koninck van spaegnien phillippus den tweeden'.

146 *Lettres de Philippe et de Jean-Jacques Chifflet*, edited by De Meester de Ravestein, p. 160.

147 Cited in J.J. Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik prins van Oranje: een biografisch drieluik* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1978), p. 391: 'los passados'; M.G. de Boer concurs that the failure of the conspiracy was in large part due to the Governess: De Boer, *Die Friedensunterhandlungen*, p. 4.

doubt referring to the experiences with Alonso de la Cueva whose unpopularity could vie with that of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, one of the officials whom local elites had challenged in the run up to the Revolt during the 1560s.[148]

Seeing *La Flandre Fidelle* as Habsburg propaganda and examining Isabella's reaction to Henry van den Bergh, a change in the dynamics of memory in the Southern Netherlands can be observed. *La Flandre Fidelle* was in fact the most elaborate historical narrative used in 1632, and it served as a political weapon in the hands of the regime. Isabella also seemed comfortable referring to the Revolt in her public writings. As representative of the malcontents, however, Henry van den Bergh was more cautious in his references to the past. He probably realised that reminding his audience of a rebellion that had brought disorder to society was not the best strategy to convince the war-weary population of the legitimacy of his protests.

Conclusion

We have seen that in the Northern and Southern Netherlands new political circumstances could make the history of the Revolt relevant once more. The canonical narratives that had developed in the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands after the Revolt had broken out in 1566 originally served to bring people together in the war effort. In the North, propagandists against peace spread stories about Spanish cruelties and unreliability to convince people that war was better than peace. And in the South, where people generally experienced the Revolt as an embarrassing episode, the church and the Habsburg dynasty explained away the troubles by focusing on the ultimate victory of Catholicism, the providential role of the Habsburg dynasty and the malice of heretics. Where the history of the Revolt was thus initially used to unite the populations in the North and South, respectively, by examining two very different memory wars, this chapter has shown that pressure groups and political activists also started to use the canonical narratives for internal polemical purposes, to wage domestic political battles.

148 Isabella to Philip IV, 28 November 1632, in: Cuvelier and Lefèvre, eds., *Correspondance de la cour d'Espagne* II, p. 659; Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog*, p. 104; Olivares interceded and said that these matters must be left to experts in civil and canon law, see: 'Consult of the Spanish Consejo de Estado', 29 January 1633, in: *Correspondance de la cour d'Espagne* II, edited by Cuvelier and Lefèvre, p. 669.

An examination of the politics of memory during the conflicts between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants has revealed how the Revolt could become the object of disagreements in domestic politics. During the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609–1621, Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants contested the moral ownership of the communal past. They both drew on the inclusive canonical narratives about the Revolt to bolster their arguments and thereby turned the past into a rhetorical battleground. There are several reasons why appeals to the public memory of the Revolt were useful. In the first place, an important condition for using episodes of the Revolt successfully as a political weapon was that they were widely known and recognised as important. Since the episodes had already reached canonical status in the discussions about war and peace, people could easily understand or at least identify with the historical references, which accordingly carried rhetorical value. Secondly, the secular history of the Revolt was just another way of appealing to a more general audience. At the beginning of the religious troubles, academic discussions about doctrine prevailed. But as religion and politics became even more entangled than usual, both factions needed to address a more general audience that was not necessarily trained in theology. The widely known history of the Revolt was an emotive theme that many people could associate with, and it could therefore serve as an effective frame of reference. Thirdly, I found that the appropriation of such a popular past by one party forces the other party to do the same, however reluctantly. This resulted in two alternative interpretations of history and a memory war. Ultimately the 'winner' of this memory war was decided not by rhetoric but by 'real' actions. Due to the ultimate victory of the Counter-Remonstrants, the canonical narrative about the Revolt became associated not only with anti-Hispanism but also with Calvinist orthodoxy and the prince of Orange, giving this narrative an internal religious and political flavour which it had previously lacked.

What we have seen in the Southern Netherlands is perhaps even more surprising. The previous chapters have shown that soon after the Habsburg reconciliation and appeasement of the Southern provinces, the Revolt became a kind of taboo. People focused on the successful Counter-Reformation and tried to suppress memories about past public unrest and Spanish cruelties. This chapter has shown, however, that painful episodes such as the Iconoclastic Furies in 1566 and the Spanish mutinies of 1576 could gain renewed importance when internal divisions arose. In this sense, the case of 1632 reveals a dynamic similar to that playing out in the Dutch Republic, on a slightly smaller scale but no less significant. When Henry van den Bergh began to claim moral ownership of the communal past, the worried Habsburg authorities could have simply ignored the references. Yet, apparently these references carried such political potency

that the authorities felt compelled to react on equal terms and referred even more elaborately to the troubled past of 1566–85. The governmental elite drew lessons from the sixteenth century: lessons on how not to deal with rebellion. Ironically, the result was that the government—who formally wanted the Revolt to be forgotten—very briefly became the most prolific political exploiter of the public memory of the past Revolt. Again, it appears that once war memories had been invoked by one side, it became impossible for the other side to avoid also using them.

CHAPTER 5

Stakeholders

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, Dutch authors had been complaining that the Dutch no longer remembered their rebellion against the Habsburg overlord. Such complaints often served as justifications for politicised narratives about the past, which—under the guise of history—could be used to support the argument that war was better than peace. But aside from the rhetorical purposes of these complaints, in the course of the century, concerns that the Revolt was disappearing from living memory became increasingly valid. In 1621 the king of Spain and the Dutch Republic resumed the war. By that time there were few people alive who had been born before the outbreak of the Revolt in 1566. In 1621, surviving witnesses were in their sixties and seventies. Younger people had learned about the origins of the Revolt not from their own experience but from stories told by others. Apart from the extinction of living witnesses of the beginning of the war, the war also continuously changed character, which affected the way people looked back to the origins of the conflict.[1] Geoffrey Parker concluded that for the South 'the Revolt of the Netherlands had come to an end in 1609.'[2] Similarly, Jonathan Israel speaks of 'the second Spanish-Dutch war' in the period 1621–1648.[3] By 1621, a reconciliation between North and South had become less and less realistic, and the conflict was no longer the complicated domestic civil war it once was. It became increasingly a conflict between two states: the Northern and Southern Netherlands, and—certainly once the Thirty Years' War had broken out—one that was fought out not only on Netherlandish soil but also in other parts of Europe and across the globe.[4] These two developments could lead us to expect that after 1621, the history of the sixteenth-century origins of the conflict became less relevant, socially and politically.

The story of an exceptionally late example of a surviving witness, however, seems to indicate just the opposite. One of the last examples of living memory is the story of an 118-year-old man who visited Amsterdam in 1659. In 1660, the annual chronicle *Holland Mercury* [*Hollantze Merkurius*] reported on this

1 Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 15.

2 Ibid., p. 266.

3 Jonathan I. Israel, 'A Conflict of Empires: Spain and the Netherlands 1618–1648', *Past and Present* 76:1 (1977), p. 34.

4 Groenveld et al., *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog*, p. 241.

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visit.[5] His name was Jan Ottele, and he claimed to have been born in Huy in the prince-bishopric of Liège on 27 September 1542.[6] Leaving aside whether Ottele really was born in that year, contemporary people's fascination for this supercentenarian is well evidenced. His story also featured in a published chronicle of the city of Rotterdam, where Ottele had supposedly been living for some time. According to this account, Ottele 'enjoyed his memory and senses very well, spoke four languages, still had good hearing and sight, and a mouth full of new teeth, he was still a good walker, and ate with relish old salted meat.'[7] In a time when most people died before reaching the age of sixty, stories about ancient men and women were quite popular.[8] Yet, the focus on Ottele's personal experience of the early stages of the Revolt suggests that the interest in his life story cannot be attributed only to the early modern fascination for old people. His story was special because Ottele was probably the longest surviving witness of the outbreak of the Revolt. The stories about Ottele recount that he had been a student at the University of Leuven in the 1560s. As a guide to the duke of

5 *Hollantze Merkurius, vervattende het Vervolgh van de eerste Thien Boecken, der Voornaemste Geschiedenissen in Christenrijck zijnde dit het Eerst Deel van 't jaer 1660* (s.l.: s.n., 1660), p. 32.

6 Johann Adam Weber covered the 1658 Nuremberg visit of Jan Ottele in his *Hundert Quellen der von allerhand Materien handlenden Unterredungs-Kunst: darinnen so wol nützlich-curiose, als nachdenckliche u. zu d. Lesers sonderbarer Belustigung gereichende Exempel enthalten* (Nuremberg: Michael und Johann Friderich Endtern, 1676), pp. 335–336; see also: Erasmus Francisci, *Das eröffnete Lust-Haus der Ober- und Nieder-Welt: bey Mehrmaliger Unterredung vor dieszmal so wol von der Natur, Welt, Himmel und dem Gestirn insgemein . . . allen Natur- Kunst- und Tugen- Liebenden Augen zu beliediger Ergetzung* (Nuremberg: Wolffgang Moritz Endter und Iohann Andreas Sel, erben, 1676), p. 1372.

7 S. Lois, *Cronycke ofte korte waere beschryvinge der stad Rotterdam, beschreeven door S. Lois, en beginnende van den jaere 1270 tot den jaere 1671 . . .* (The Hague: O. en P. Van Thol, 1746), p. 157: 'hy hadde syn Memory en Verstant noch seer wel / sprack vierderhande Talen / en hadde syn Gehoor en Gesicht seer wel / en syn Mont vol nieuwe Tanden / was noch wel ter been / at noch met goede smaeck out gesouten Vlees'.

8 See for example: Johann Georg Leuckfeld, *Kurtze historische Nachricht von 79 gelehrten Männern und berühmten Theologen, welch das 80 bis 90te Jahr ihres Alters erlebet* (Groningen: s.n., 1723); anonymous, *Nauwkeurige aantekeningen van eenige hondert personen, van allerley rang, die over hondert jaren geleeft hebben, waar onder vele geleerde geweest zijn: beschryvende hun zomtyds zeldzaam leven, gedrag, en afkomst op een korte en nette wyze: opgetelt volgens 't A,B,C. het geen van een yder met nut en vermaak zal kunnen gelezen worden* (Leeuwarden: Abraham Ferwerda, 1752); see also: Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650: Hard-Won Unity* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004), pp. 38–39; about life expectancy in early modern Europe, see: Mark Konnert, *Early Modern Europe. The Age of Religious War, 1559–1715* (Toronto: Higher Education University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 22; Jan Luiten van Zanden and Tine De Moor, 'Mensen en economie in de Gouden Eeuw', *Leidschrift* 23:2 (2008), pp. 17–18.

Alba, who had arrived in the Low Countries in 1567, Ottele had witnessed the execution of the counts of Egmont and Horne in 1568. Ultimately, for unknown reasons but perhaps as a refugee, he left the Habsburg Netherlands and went to the province of Holland in the part of the Low Countries that successfully continued its rebellion: the Dutch Republic, where he became a schoolmaster and attained a great age.[9]

The story of Ottele is, of course, exceptional. We might expect that by the period from 1621 to the end of the war in 1648 the increasing remoteness in time and the changing political circumstances would have rendered the early stages of the conflict less useful as historical frame of reference. But this is not what happened. Throughout the Low Countries, people were keenly aware that they were fighting a war that had begun in the sixteenth century. Two examples, one from the North and one from the South, can illustrate the perceived relevance of the Revolt in 1621. During this year, Reformed clergyman Johannes Fenacolius who lived in Maassluis published a Dutch translation of Augustine's *City of God*. On 17 April 1621, he dedicated his work to the States General,

> on which day it was forty-nine years ago, that the city of Brielle was liberated from the Spanish yoke in the name of the most serene Prince William, prince of Orange, your princely grace, father and father of the commonwealth [...] as a memorable example to all Christian princes.[10]

Fenacolius belonged to the faction of clergymen in the North who bitterly opposed peace with Spain. The ordeals that Netherlanders had suffered during Alba's governorship reminded him of what the Republic was fighting for. And for Fenacolius the fight was still very much a fight against tyrannical and papist Spain.

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9 Anonymous, *Jan Ottele (27-09-1542 / -) Op 118 jarige leeftijd bij zijn bezoek aan Amsterdam op 2 augustus 1659*, Stadsarchief Amsterdam, collectie tekeningen en prenten, inv. 10097-010097016660; engraver Lukas Schnitzer depicted Jan Ottele on the old man's visit to Nuremberg in 1657, see: Lukas Schnitzer, 'Johann Ottele (von Hohe)' (1657), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, inv. A 15572.

10 Johannes Fenacolius, 'Opdracht' in: Augustinus, *Van de stadt Godts* (Delft: Adriaen Gerritsz, 1621), dedication: 'ten welcke dage over negen ende veertich jaren, de Stadt van den Briel, in den name des Aller-Doorluchtichsten Prince Guiljelmi, Prince van Orangien, uwe Vorstel. Gen., vader, ende de selve oock des gemeenen lants vader, hoochloff. gedachtenisse, van het jock der Spanjaerden bevrijt is geweest [...] tot een gedenckweerdich exempel van alle Christene Princen.'

Southerners also saw 1621 as a resumption of an old war. Catholic propagandist Richard Verstegan observed in 1621 that 'now' seven of the Netherlands have rebelled and ten have continued to show 'proper allegiance.'[11] When Verstegan wrote his text, the political situation in the Low Countries was changing on several levels: the Truce ended, Philip IV ascended the Spanish throne, Archduke Albert died and the war between North and South was resumed.[12] Verstegan did not take for granted the security of the recatholicised Southern Netherlands and still entertained hopes of an ultimate reconciliation between North and South under Habsburg. He felt that defeating the heretics was the only way to realise this objective and to restore order in the Low Countries.

Fenacolius and Verstegan, each from his own perspective, hence framed the war as a conflict with sixteenth-century origins. The war was seen as the continuation of a rebellion that had begun in the previous century, and much of the old war rhetoric continued to be used. This chapter will address the question why the sixteenth-century origins of the Revolt remained such a relevant frame of reference for people on both sides of the North-South divide after 1621. It will further elaborate on the interplay between two themes that recur throughout this study: first, that existent dominant storylines about the Revolt provided a seemingly inexhaustible source of authority and prestige for individuals and interest groups; and second, that the continuing political usage of the sixteenth-century past in contemporary discussions about war and peace strengthened the canonical status of narratives about the Revolt and vice versa: that the historical canon of the Revolt ensured the conflict's continued political potential. We will ask who stood to gain from recycling these narratives, and what was at stake in doing so.

Reputations and Possessions

The cultural importance Netherlanders attached to the history of the Revolt allowed the conflict to remain a political and legal frame of reference, for example to buttress property claims. The demolished Culemborg palace, discussed in chapter 1, exemplifies how people used the public memory of the war to argue for the restitution of lost property. Floris I of Culemborg—one of the authors of the petition to Margaret of Parma in 1566—died in 1598. He had never been able to reclaim the confiscated family property in Brussels

11 Verstegan, *De spiegel der Nederlandsche elenden*, p. 21: 'behoorlycke gehoorsaemheyt'.

12 Van Zuilen, 'The Politics of Dividing the Nation?', pp. 63, 67, 74; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 410–420.

or acquire any substantial recompense for all the damages that his family had suffered. In 1611, the late count's son Floris II submitted a request to the States General of the Dutch Republic, asking compensation for damaged property especially in Culemborg and Wittem.[13] In the text he emphasised that his father had been 'one of the first, who on peril of goods and blood has offered his helping hand for the maintenance of the freedom and the privileges of these lands against the Spanish tyranny'.[14] On 18 February 1614, the States General granted him some concessions.[15] A few years later, in 1619, the United Provinces and the Habsburg Netherlands were exploring the possibilities for extending the Twelve Years' Truce. Again, Floris II submitted a request, with particular attention to his family's property claims in Brussels. Assuring them of his devoted service, he respectfully urged the delegates in the States General to take his interests to heart in their future dealings with the enemy in the South. Count Floris wanted compensation for the confiscation and destruction of his family's palace in Brussels where, after all, 'the first fundaments were laid for our victory and triumph'.[16] His request for assistance was not unreasonable. Article fifteen of the Truce had ordered that:

> If the fiscall on either side, shall have solde any goods or lands confiscated; they, to whom they ought to pertaine, by virtue of this present treatie, shall be bound to content themselves with the interest of the price thereof [...] which shal be paide unto them yearely during the Truce, by them that holde and possesse the same; or else it shal be lawful for them to adresse themselves unto the heritage it selfe that hath bin sold.[17]

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13 Voet van Oudheusden, *Historische Beschryvinge van Culemborg* I, pp. 263–265; see also: *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal Nieuwe Reeks 1610–1670. Eerste deel 1610–1612*, edited by A.Th. van Deursen (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), 14 September 1611, p. 476.

14 Voet van Oudheusden, *Historische Beschryvinge van Culemborg* I, p. 264: 'een van de Eerste, die mit pericule van goet en bloet de hand geboden heeft omme te maintineren de Vryheyt ende Privilegien deser Landen jegens de Spaensche Tyrannie'.

15 *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal Nieuwe Reeks 1610–1670. Tweede deel 1613–1616*, edited by A.Th. van Deursen (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1984), p. 206.

16 Gelders Archief, 0370: Heren en graven van Culemborg, 6579: Stukken betreffende de pogingen van graaf Floris II om door tusschenkomst van de Staten-Generaal restitutie te krijgen van zijn erf te Brussel en de baronie Withem, met vergoeding der schade, 1619, 1635: 'Alwaer d'eerst fundamenten geleijt zijn van onse Victorie ende Triumphe'.

17 *Articles, of a treatie of truce. Made and concluded in the towne and citie of Antvverp, the 9. of April 1609. betweene the commissioners of the most excellent Princes, Arch-dukes Albert and Isabella Clara Eugenia, as well in the name of the Catholicke Kings Maiestie, as in their owne. Together with the commissioners and deputies the renowmed Lords, the Estates Generall of*

The Archdukes Albert and Isabella had given the site of the demolished Culemborg Palace to the Discalced Carmelites, and it was not in the power of the regime to temporarily rescind the confiscation. So for the duration of the Truce, Count Floris claimed to be entitled to the interest of the property to be paid by the Discalced friars.[18] Yet Floris did not rely solely on legal arguments in his address to the Dutch federal government. Instead, he made a historical appeal. In a short statement addressed to the States General he outlined the history of the house in order to convince his audience that his father had played an important role in the liberation of the land and that they should therefore help him in his efforts:

> In the year 1566 the principal nobles of the Netherlands assembled in the house of the lord the count of Culemborg's lord father of honourable memory in order to consider as good and loyal vassals—seeing the great troubles of the common land's unrest, bloodshed and other calamity [...]—how these troubles and calamities could be soothed, which is why they presented a request to the duchess of Parma, governor of the Netherlands.[19]

It is unclear whether the States General did indeed try to help Count Floris. In the 1670s, after King Charles II of Spain finally decreed that the Culemborg family should be compensated, the chamber of the county of Culemborg wrote an overview of the past attempts at restitution and tried to account for the failed efforts in the 1610s. They hypothesised that Count Floris could not claim his property within the timeframe of the Truce.[20] This is conceivable as

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the Vnited Prouinces of the Low-countryes (London: George Potter and Nicholas Bourne, 1609), f. b4r.

18 For a concise explanation of the property clauses in the Twelve Years' Truce, see Groenveld, *Unie—Bestand—Vrede*, pp. 109–110.

19 Gelders Archief, 0370: Heren en graven van Culemborg, 6579: 'Alsoo mids Jaere 1566. die voornaemste Edelen van de Nederlanden te Huijse vandes Heere Grave van Culenborchs Heer Vader looffel gedacht. binnen Brussel, zijn vergadert geweest om als goede en getrouwe Vassals—siende voor oogs, die groote swaricheden van gemeene landts onruste, bloedtsortinge, en andere onheijls, [...] is naederhant in effect daerop zijn gevolcht, te beraetslaege hoe deselven swarigheden ende onheyls souden konnen worden versoedet, gelijck sij dan tot sulcks eijnde Requeste aen de Hertoginne van Parma [...] Gouvernante van voorsz. Nederlanden hebben gepresenteert.'

20 Gelders Archief, 0370: Heren en graven van Culemborg, inv. 6582, Stukken betreffende de geslaagde pogingen van graaf Georg Friedrich om schadevergoeding te krijgen voor het geconfisqueerde en verwoeste huis te Brussel, 1674, 1675.

his request to the States General dates from 1619, only two years before the war was resumed and the truce expired.

By 1648, when the Treaty of Münster in the Peace of Westphalia adopted most of the property clauses of the Twelve Years' Truce, Floris II had died.[21] Once again, however, people could lay claims to confiscated property. These claims were dealt with by a new agency established in 1654, the Chambre de mi-partie, whose members consisted of legal representatives from North and South.[22] In its quest for compensation of damages, the administration of Culemborg had an agent act on behalf of their master: the great-great-grandson of Floris I, Count Henry Wolrad of Waldeck, who as a three-year-old had become count of Culemborg in 1645. On 14 February 1654, the council of Culemborg wrote to this agent Fierenschatz that 'We have recently been informed by the lord baillif of Wittem, that the king's fiscal has given his advice regarding the restitution of the house of Culemborg and that it touched our lord contrarily'.[23] This was a disappointment, but the council did not give up. According to them, the failed attempt at restitution simply meant that further material had to be collected to make the dossier more convincing:

> It is such that not only his grace Count Floris I of honourable memory, not long after the confiscation of his houses and its dependencies, committed his deputy to retrieve possession, as can be seen from the attachment A, but also his grace Count Floris the Second has presented memoria B to the States General around the time of the Truce between the crown of Spain and the United Provinces and strongly urged for its restitution.[24]

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21 For a comparison of the agreements in the Twelve Years' Truce and the Peace of Münster, see: Groenveld, *Unie—Bestand—Vrede*, p. 154.

22 Ibid., pp. 154–155.

23 The Culemborg council to Agent Fierenschatz, 14 February 1654, Gelders Archief, 0370, Heren en graven van Culemborg, inv. 6580, Stukken betreffende de pogingen restitutie te krijgen van het Culemborgsche huis te Brussel, 1651–1654: 'Wy sijn onlancx verwittigt door dheere Drossart van Wittem, als dat den Koninks fiscael syn advis aengaende de Restitutie van het huys van Culenborch soude gegeven heben ende 'tselve onsen gen. Heere contrarie geraken syn'.

24 The Culemborg council to Agent Fierenschatz, 14 February 1654, Gelders Archief, 0370, inv. 6580, Stukken betreffende de pogingen restitutie te krijgen van het Culemborgsche huis te Brussel, 1651–1654: 't is nu sulx dat niet alleen syn gen. grave Floris I loff.mem. niet langh nae de confiscatie van syn huysingen ende dependantien van dien, deszelfs Casteleyn gecommiteert heeft om de possessie derselver wederom aen te vaarden, gelick uyt de bylagh A. te sien is, maer heeft oock syn gen. grave Floris den 2. het memoria lit

This material could further strengthen their case. In the same letter, the council complained that Fierenschatz was difficult to contact. They would have liked to have had 'an extract or copy of the fiscal's advice, to better serve them of advice' and they implored the agent 'to correspond more diligently with us and provide further information about this and other cases'.[25] Now they had heard the news from the bailiff of Wittem. Another attempt to convince the fiscal was without effect, and in December 1654 Agent Fierenschatz proposed to take it up with the Chambre de mi-partie, which had just begun its work.[26] Although the case was brought to the Chambre de mi-partie, I have found no evidence of a judgement in the Culemborg case. It is clear, though, that it took until 1674 for the Culemborg lobby to succeed. In that year the count of Culemborg obtained from the States of Brabant an annuity of five thousand guilders.[27] In 1732, 164 years after the 1568 demolition, the debt was redeemed for a lump sum of one hundred thousand guilders.[28] The persistent efforts of the Culemborg family reveal that successive generations of counts of Culemborg had a vested interest in keeping alive the public memory of their palace's demolition and adjusted their rhetoric to the existent dominant storylines to argue their case.

The Culemborg family was not the only family interested in keeping alive certain memories of the Revolt. In December 1633 Isabella died, and she was succeeded by Philip IV's brother, the cardinal-infante Ferdinand of Austria. One pamphleteer placed him in the Habsburg dynastic history, calling the new governor that 'brave Ferdinand who is fair like the Philips, bold and bellicose like the Charleses under which these provinces had been so flourishing.'[29] Here

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B omtrent den tyt van Treves tusschen de Croon Spanien ende de Vereenighde provintien, aen de heeren Staten Generaal gepresenteert, ende voorsz restitutie ten hoogsten geurgeert'.

25 Ibid.: 'souden wenschen voor gehad te hebben een extract ofte Copye van des fiscaels advis, om te beter te connen dienen van advis ende bericht, gelick U.E. hier mede versoeken voorstaen wat neerstiger met ons te correspondeeren, ende dese ende andere processen te dienen van naerder bericht'.

26 Agent Fierenschatz to the baillif of Wittem, 11 december 1654, Gelders Archief, 0370, inv. 6580.

27 Brieven aan den drost van Witthem, Johan Wilhelm van Schwartzenberg, belast met een missie naar Brussel om het Culemborgsche huis te reclameren, 1651–1654, Gelders Archief, 0370, inv. 6581.

28 Voet van Oudheusden, *Historische Beschryvinge van Culemborg* I, p. 380.

29 Cited by Sabbe, *Brabant in 't Verweer*, p. 199, from: anonymous, *Responce d'un bon vassal du Roy catholique aux manifestes publez par le Roy de* France *touchant la guerre par luy declare contre la couronne d'Espagne, au mois de Juin de la présente annéé* M.D.XXXV

the author remained vague deliberately, not referring to Charles V and Philip II but to 'the Charleses' and 'the Philips'. He evoked the public memory of previous Habsburg lords of the Netherlands as well as Burgundian rulers such as Philip I 'the Fair' of Castile (1478–1506) and Charles 'the Bold' of Burgundy (1433–1477), underlining the long-term continuity in the dynastic succession. On 4 November 1634, Ferdinand arrived in Brussels. The sky was clouded and rain was expected, but none fell when the cardinal-infante arrived. According to lawyer and historian Jules Chifflet, the journey from Milan had gone so smoothly 'it seemed that God led his people and his army, like he did that of Israel.'[30]

On his arrival in the Low Countries, Ferdinand toured the cities of the Southern Netherlands. For the occasion of the Joyous Entries of the new governor-general in 1634–35, nobleman Jan van Marnix wrote a manuscript history and political treatise of the Netherlandish troubles in Latin, which is also testimony to the importance noble families attached to their past.[31] In his dedication, he stated that 'it is appropriate that someone not only defends the dignity of his prince by lances and swords; this must also be done by

(s.l.: s.n., 1635): 'brave Ferdinand qui est bon et beau comme les Philippes, hardy en belliqueux comme les Charles soubs lesquels autrefois ces Provinces ont été si fleurissantes'; anonymous, *De grausaem straf over 't hertoghdom van Brabandt voor-seyde door den propheet Ioel, de welcke den Heere, door soo veele traensuchtige ende den Vrede toeseggende, als t'vast op hem betrouwt* (1635), KBR 'Recueil des pièces relatives aux Pays-Bas', S II 5060 A. nr 45.

30 J.J. Chifflet, *Le voyage du prince Don Fernande, infant d'Espagne, cardinal, Depuis le douzième d'Avril de l'an 1632. qu'il partit de Madrit pour Barcelone avec le Roy Philippe IV. son frere, jusques au jour de son entrée en la ville de Bruxelles le quatrième du mois de Novembre de l'an 1634* (Antwerp: Jean Cnobbaert, 1634), p. 195: 'il sembloit que Dieu conduisoit ses gens & son armée, comme il fit celle d'Israel'.

31 Jan van Marnix, 'Rerum Belgicarum politica consideratio, in qua tutissimum, atque unicum ad quietem iter Hollandis esse ostenditur, si Regi suo, Regi Catholico (a quo defecerunt) Fide, & Obsequio iterum sese subiicant' (1635), Biblioteca Nacional de España MS 2828. The manuscript is accessible online at http://bibliotecadigitalhispanica.bne.es:80/webclient/DeliveryManager?pid=3427297&custom_att_2=simple_viewer [accessed 13 May 2013]. References will be to this source; Nele Verhenne translated the manuscript in her MA thesis. I largely followed this translation. It can be consulted in the University Library of Ghent, BIB.GTH.029459: Jan van Marnix and Nele Verhenne, 'Rerum belgicarum politica consideratio' (Ghent, 1994). The thesis is also accessible online at http://lib.ugent.be/fulltxt/RUG01/000/891/236/RUG01-000891236_2011_0001_AC.pdf [accessed 13 May 2013].

words and arguments'.[32] The text probably served at least partly to cleanse the Marnix family record; two of Jan's uncles had been rebels. One of them, Philip, had even been among William of Orange's closest confidants. Despite these blotches on the family record, Jan van Marnix prided himself on his devotion to the house of Austria, a devotion 'instilled and passed down through my forefathers'.[33] The uncles were erased from the record. Marnix was annoyed by 'the many untruths that some authors have hatefully and deceitfully spread to the advantage of the Netherlandish rebels, as a result of which an ignorant people is easily dragged along unless someone provides a reply in writing.'[34] In the introduction to the first part of his tract the author remarked that

> I believe that there is no one among you, best among the Netherlanders, who does not look forward to peace. After the endless misery of the wars that have caused our sorrow, I am not surprised to find people who desire peace, of whatever kind.[35]

Expressing his wish that the Republic would return under the authority of its rightful overlord, Philip IV, Marnix voiced his expectation that under the cardinal-infante 'heresy, with the Revolt as its daughter' would soon be defeated.[36] Subsequently, he entered into a compact discussion of the Revolt's origins, which reflected the dominant government-endorsed South Netherlandish view of the conflict. He attributed all troubles to the Hollanders 'among whom the rebellion first surfaced'.[37] Since this was a bit far-fetched, he qualified the statement by adding that he understood 'Hollanders' to refer to 'all Netherlandish provinces that refuse to obey his Catholic royal highness

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32 Jan van Marnix, 'Rerum', p. vii: 'Non solum hastis, et gladius sui quemque principus tueri dignitatem par est: verum etiam scriptis, et rationibus idipsum exequi'. With thanks to Verena Demoed for helping me with the Latin translations.

33 Ibid., p. vii: 'innatum [. . .] mihi, et a maioribus traditum'.

34 Ibid., p. viii: 'Cumque modo animadverterim plurimas falsitates in favorem contumacium Belgii populorum a nonnullis scriptoribus invidiose, ac maligne spargi, quibus ignarum vulgus in cororem facile traheretur, nisi quis iis scripto reponeret'.

35 Ibid., p. xxvii: 'Neminem vestrum esse existimo, (Belgarum optimi) qui pacem non anhelet: neque miror aliquos reperiri qui desiderent eam, etiam qualemcumque, post infinitas bellorum miserias quibus hoc nostrum prohdolor.'

36 Ibid., pp. xxx–xxxi: 'Sic igitur unicum fratrem Philippi colite, ut a vobis unice coli se Philippus sentiat: sic novo huic regimini nobilissimo, praestantissimoque constantissimi obsequii nervum adiungite, ut Ferdinandi auspiciis universo Belgio prostratam haeresim cum rebellione filia quamprimum videre liceat.'

37 Ibid., p. 2: 'apud quos rebellio primo caput extulit'.

[…] since today their name terrifies many people, like the Goths in previous times'.[38] According to Marnix, the war was a disgrace for several reasons. First of all, the Dutch Republic was a state born out of violence against the rightful lord. Secondly, the heretical behaviour of the rebels violated both divine and human law. Thirdly, the grievances of the rebels were unfounded and served merely as pretexts to realise their selfish ambitions. Finally, although the rebels blamed Philip II for the troubles, the king had been one of the best rulers the Netherlands had ever known.

Marnix particularly rejected the way in which Northerners had begun to seek the legitimacy of their revolutionary political agenda in the history of the Revolt. Hollanders were always raking up old troubles in their publications:

> In my opinion it is ludicrous, even harmful and dangerous, to stick to old customs in the business of the present day, or to trade in the entire present way of life for that of the ancients! By no means was everything better with the ancestors, our time also has honourable things and features to be imitated by the descendants.[39]

He ended with the advice: 'one should not always look at what was done in the old days, but also to what is to be done today; one must not look at how people might have been in the past, but how they are now.'[40] Jan van Marnix clearly abhorred the continued usage in the Republic of politically motivated references to the rebellion that stood in the way of peace.

Elites in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands thus derived status from their conduct during the Revolt. Having chosen the 'right' side in times of extreme adversity yielded dividends long after the actual hero had died. His or her family continued to share in the glory but only for as long as the public memory of the family's heroic behaviour was kept alive. The previous chapters have already shown that the house of Orange is a good example of this phenomenon. On the death of his half-brother Maurice in 1625, Frederick Henry

38 Ibid.: 'omnes Confoederatos Inferioris Germaniae regiae-catholicae maiestati obsequi renuentes […] ut pote quorum nomen hodie, sicut olim Gotthorum, (e) plaerisque hominibus terrorem incutit'.

39 Ibid., p. 68: 'Quam inquam, ridiculum, adeoque noxium, et impossibile, in negociis huius aevi antiquos plane retinere mores, seu praesentis vitae modulum omnem a veteribus mutuari? Haudquaquam omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis, et artium imitanda posteris tulit.'

40 Ibid., pp. 70–71: 'nec quid olim factum fuerit, semper inspicundum est, sed quid hodie faciendum: nec qualis quisque aliquando fuerit, sed qualis quisque modo sit attendendum.'

became the prince of Orange and succeeded as stadholder. He played a pivotal role in turning his family into a princely dynasty with an international allure.[41] This was important because he had not only himself to consider. Unlike Maurice, he had a son: William II.[42] In the house of Orange's transmission of dynastic identity, the Revolt continued to play a crucial role as can be exemplified by the Act of *Survivance* of 1631. During that year, the States of Holland and Zeeland gave the *Survivance*—i.e. the right to succeed his father—to William, something Frederick Henry had been very eager to achieve as it was the nearest any prince of Orange at the time could come to securing the non-hereditary stadholderate for his offspring.[43] The survivance meant that after the death of Frederick Henry, William would be appointed stadholder. In the motivation of their decision, the States referred to the house of Orange's war record. They granted the survivance in consideration of

> the good, faithful and pleasant services, out of special affection, done by the late serene highborn prince and lord, lord William, prince of Orange, count of Nassau etc., furthermore by [...] Maurice [...] and [...] Frederick Henry [...] for many years in many and multifold burdens and dangers.[44]

They also expressed their desire that William II, 'following the examples and footsteps of his lord grandfather, uncle, and father [...] will equally provide

41 Olaf Mörke, 'De hofcultuur van het huis Oranje-Nassau in de zeventiende eeuw', in: Peter te Boekhorst, Peter Burke, Willem Frijhoff, eds., *Cultuur en maatschappij in Nederland, 1500–1850* (Meppel: Boom, 1992), p. 55.

42 Pieter Geyl, *Oranje en Stuart* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1939), p. 2; Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht* (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers, 1999), pp. 98–102.

43 Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik*, pp. 349–351; see also: Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, p. 98.

44 *Copie wt de Resolvtien ghenomen byde Heeren Staten van Hollant ende West-Vriesland / ende byde Heeren Staten van Zeelandt / in hare respective Vergaderinghe / onlangs Staetsghewijse gehouden / aengaende het defereren van de Survivance ende successie van het stadt-houder / gouverneur / Capiteynscha ende Admiraelschap Generael / van Hollandt / Zeelandt ende West-Vrieslandt / aenden Jongsten Heere Prince Wilhelm, gebooren Prince van Orangien* (The Hague: Ludolph Breeckevelt, 1631), f. a2v: 'de goede getrouwe ende aenghename diensten / uyt sonderlinghe affectie / by H.L.M. den Doorluchtighen hooghgebooren Furst ende Heere / Heere Wilhelm, Prince van Orangien / Grave van Nassau etc. mitsgaders van [...] Mauritii [...] ende [...] Frederick Hendrick [...] veele jaren lang in veele ende menichvuldige sware lasten ende periculen.'

them with good services.'[45] The *Survivance* was essential for the dynastic aspirations of the Orange family in the Dutch Republic because it created the appearance of the stadholderate as a hereditary office. It is important to note that the Oranges were not only passive recipients; they also needed to play an active part during the formal conferral. According to an official account, on 24 April the deputies of the States went on a visit to Frederick Henry to formally offer him, as guardian of his son, the *Survivance*. The prince, 'accepting the [offer], has thanked the lords States very much for the honour bestowed upon his son and declared to exhort him at all occasions and seek to enable him to do these lands all possible service, following in the footsteps of his forebears.'[46] Subsequently, the group of delegates went to the prince's wife Amalia, and the ritual was repeated.[47]

There are clear signs that Frederick Henry and Amalia raised their son with a sense of tradition. The teacher of William II and professor of theology in Leiden, André Rivet, wrote a *Fürstenspiegel* for the young prince, which he published in 1642 and in which he explained the importance of the past. The *Instruction of the Christian Prince* [*Instruction du prince chrestien*], which takes the form of a dialogue between a *directeur* and his princely pupil, is foremost an outline of the prince's duties towards God.[48] Apart from biblical exempla, however, the secular past was also an important frame of reference. According to Rivet, 'memory is the chest that guards the acquired treasure' and he understood 'memory' to

> consist not only of that which happened to one's self, or the things one has seen; but also, and more importantly, the things that happened in the centuries that have preceded us. That is the function of reading history [...] It is necessary that a doctor recognise the cause of a malady before he tries to cure it.[49]

45 Ibid.: 'volghende de exempelen ende voetstappen van sijne Heeren Grootvader / Oom / ende Vader [...] insghelijcx goede diensten sullen mogen bewesen worden'.

46 Ibid., f. a4r: 'de selve aannemende / de hoochgemelte Heeren States hoochlijck voor de eere aen sijnen soone bewesen / heeft bedanckt / ende verklaert den selven by alle occasien te sullen vermanen ende soecken bequaem te maecken / omme de Landen / volgende de voetstappen van sijne voorsaten / alle moghelijcke dienst te doen'.

47 Ibid.

48 Matthijs Wieldraaijer, 'Onderwijs aan het Oranjehof in de 17de eeuw', *Holland* 41:2 (2009), p. 80.

49 André Rivet, *Instruction du prince chrestien. Par Dialogues, Entre un jeune Prince, & son directeur* (Leiden: Ian Maire, 1642), pp. 246–247: 'La memoire est le coffre qui garde le thresor acquis [...]; elle se remplist non seulement de ce qu'on à faict soy mesme, ou

William II grew up in a dynasty that keenly preserved its glorious role in Dutch history for purposes of exploiting that legacy when the need of doing so arose. A case in point is Amalia's commission of a monumental memorial to her husband Frederick Henry who died in 1647. This memorial was to adorn the central hall of her summer retreat Huis ten Bosch near The Hague. Although originally intended to exhibit paintings of European rulers, including William of Orange, Maurice and Frederick Henry, the *Oranjezaal* (as the hall was known) came to eulogise Frederick Henry, illustrating the historical ties between the house of Orange and the United Provinces.[50] Amalia commissioned the decorations to eternalise the glories of her husband.[51]

Courtier and poet Constantijn Huygens the Elder was very interested in the project.[52] On 23 April 1651, painter Jacob Jordaens, who was also involved, wrote to Huygens to explain what he had in mind for the central decorative theme in the hall, the *Triumph of Frederick Henry*. The figure of Frederick Henry would feature in the centre of the piece, sitting in a chariot 'as a Cesar or Alexander' high above the other figures, foregrounded by a red cloak over his harness.[53] On the rearing horse in the right corner sits William II, fully equipped as an army general. Jordaens referred to the past glories of the house of Orange through the statues of the former stadholders William the Silent and Maurice, 'placed at both sides of the work, on pedestals, in bronzed figures of copper, the prince [Frederick Henry] riding in between', as the artist explained to Huygens.[54] The representation of the predecessors of Frederick Henry in front of columns served to delineate the mythical and powerful status these stadholders had acquired. Painter Cesar van Everdingen was

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de ce qu'on a veu; mais aussi, & pour le plus, de ce qui s'est passé es siecles qui nous ont precedé. A quoy sert la lecture de l'Histoire [...] Il faut qu'un medecin cognoisse bien la cause d'une maladie, devant que guerir.'

50 For an excellent historical overview, see Elmer Kolfin, 'Amalia's ambities. Een vorstenzaal voor de stadhouder', in: Margriet van Eikema Hommes and Elmer Kolfin, eds., *De Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch. Een zaal uit loutere liefde* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2013), pp. 63–115.

51 Hanna Peter-Raupp, *Die Ikonogaphie des Oranjezaal* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1980), pp. 8–28.

52 Maurits Sabbe, 'Constantijn Huygens en Zuid-Nederland', in: *De Moretussen en hun kring. Verspreide opstellen* (Antwerp: V. Resseler, 1928), p. 93.

53 Jacob Jordaens to Constantijn Huygens, 23 April 1651, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens, 1608–1697*, edited by Jacob Adolf Worp, 6 vols., ('s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1911), vol. 5, p. 85: 'als eenen Cesar of Alexander'.

54 Ibid.: 'stelle over wedersyden van het werck, op pedestaelen, in gebronste figueren van coper, den Prince daertusschen door rijdende.'

responsible for the *Allegory of the Birth of Frederick Henry*. On this painting Pallas Athena is rocking the child on her shield while Mars offers the young prince a spear. Behind Athena in the shade of a provisional canopy of gold threaded cloth, held up by flying putti, we see William of Orange, Frederick Henry's father, a reminder of the prince's illustrious descent.[55]

Despite all its splendour and emphases on continuity, the Orange Hall was built at a time of dynastic uncertainty. The dynasty's future depended on Frederick Henry's son William II, yet he was childless. Furthermore, the Peace of Westphalia, signed in 1648, threatened the house of Orange's position. As early as 1643, this situation had become a matter of discussion. Frisian stadholder William Frederick of Nassau wrote in his diary about a conversation he had with a French exile, Henry d'Escars de Saint-Bonnet, lord of Saint-Ibar during a ride from Haarlem to Amsterdam on 30 November 1643. Saint-Ibar told him 'that his highness [William II] or the house of Nassau should never bring down the house of Austria entirely, because as long as they [the Habsburgs] held power, his highness and his house would be honoured and loved here in the land.'[56] A few years later, on 12 July 1648, William Frederick discussed the Peace of Westphalia with the dowager princess of Orange, Amalia. He lambasted the regents who wanted to scale down the army and diminish the powers of the house of Orange. Drawing an analogy with the troubles during the Twelve Years' Truce, William Frederick equated the pro-peace faction to 'those Arminians'. 'They engaged in the same intrigues that anno 1618 were begun against Prince Maurice in the time of Oldenbarnevelt', the Frisian stadholder wrote in his diary.[57] Their ultimate goal was to 'break the power and diminish the authority of his highness'. Amalia allegedly replied that she was indeed much discontented with 'those of Holland' and with the general lack of gratitude towards the Orange dynasty.[58] Cornelis van Aerssen, lord of Sommelsdijck confided on 3 October

55 Peter-Raupp, *Die Ikonogaphie*, p. 30.

56 Willem Frederick of Nassau, *Gloria parendi. Dagboeken van Willem Frederik, stadhouder van Friesland, Groningen en Drenthe, 1643–1649, 1651–1654*, edited by J. Visser and G.N. van der Plaat (The Hague: Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 1995), p. 36: 'dat S.H. of het huys van Nassau noit behoorden het huys van Oostenrijck heel onder te brengen, want soolang alse macht hadden, soude S.H. en sijn huys hier in't lant geert ende gelieft worden uyt vrese van de Spagniartz.' With thanks to Geert Janssen for referring me to the diary of William Frederick of Nassau.

57 Ibid., p. 539.

58 Ibid. Similarly, Amalia of Solms communicated to an envoy from Brandenburg that the continuation of the war was best for the Orange dynasty, see: Herbert H. Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625–1672* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 220.

1648 to William Frederick that 'if the house of Nassau were to be stripped of its lustre and assets, in the course of time the name of his highness and his forebears who are so renowned and have so much merit would all be forgotten, and the honour, credit and respect that the house of Orange had in these lands would be wholly obscured.'[59] This was an interesting perspective. According to Van Aerssen, not the past deeds of the house of Orange justified its privileged constitutional position; it was the continued political influence of the dynasty that ensured that the past was kept alive. The continued circulation of the family's glorious achievements in Dutch history simply mirrored the political status of the Orange dynasty. Another indication of the concern for keeping alive the dynasty's past was a painting by Pieter Nason, commissioned by William Frederick and his wife Albertine Agnes in 1663. The painting portrayed four generations of princes of Orange: William I, Maurice, Frederick Henry and William II. William III was added later to the composition. The depicted scene was entirely imaginary as William II and William III were not even born at the time of William of Orange's death.[60] Since Nason created a virtual reality he could take liberties with the facts, omitting Philip William from the historical line of succession.

By the end of Frederick Henry's life, the prospects of the Orange dynasty were so insecure that those next in line were scrupulously observing all that happened at the Orange court. William Frederick of Nassau became very interested in the legal arrangements regarding the succession, hoping that one day he might succeed William II and become stadholder in all seven provinces of the Union. His diary gives invaluable insider views into court life at The Hague from someone who had access to the prince of Orange and who, as a fellow count of Nassau, commented on dynastic matters. It appears from the large number of anecdotal entries in the diary that both the Orange stadholders of Holland, Zeeland and the other provinces and the Nassau stadholders of Friesland were instilled with a keen dynastic awareness and sense of history.[61] An example is a conversation between Amalia of Solms and her son William II

59 William Frederick of Nassau, *Gloria parendi*, edited by Visser and Van der Plaat, p. 563: 'als het huys Nassau ontbloot wierde van alle die luister en middelen, soo solde mitdertijt de naem van S.H. en sijner voorsaeten, die in dit landt soo beroempt en soo veul gemeriteert hadden, gantz vergeten worden, en die eer, credijt en respect die het huys Orangiën in dese landen gehadt heeft en beseten soo menigen tijt, soude gantz verduistert worden.'

60 Stevens, *Shades of Orange*, pp. 18–19; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, 'Introduction', in: Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, eds., *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 1.

61 See also Kolfin, 'Amalia's ambities', pp. 63–64.

on 20 October 1646. When Amalia asked her son whether he sided with the Spanish or with the French, he answered: 'neither, but if I were to choose a side, I would rather be French, because they did not kill my grandfather and four of my uncles.'[62] The uncles to which William referred probably included Louis (1538–1574), Adolf (1540–1568) and Henry (1550–1574). Together with the only surviving brother Jan they were depicted by the studio of Wybrand Symonsz de Geest around 1650. The painting was commissioned by Jan's grandson John Maurice of Nassau-Siegen who intended it for his newly built *Mauritshuis* in The Hague, next to the Inner Court.[63] The princess of Orange replied to her son's reason for preferring the French over the Spanish: 'The French also did that', with the St Bartholomew Day massacre and the death of William II's great-grandfather and Huguenot leader Gaspar de Coligny in mind. 'It is true', William retorted, 'but it was through the Spanish faction and the supporters of Guise'. Mother and son could not agree, and when William angered Amalia by accusing her of giving credence to 'old fools' the conversation ended.[64]

The Frisian stadholder was preoccupied with the dynasty's position in the Republic and often fell back on the past deeds of his forebears to buttress his family's status. In a conversation with Amalia in 1647, William Frederick fawned on her, pointing to the inextricable links between the Orange dynasty and the Republic. But he also took great pleasure in what Amalia had to say:

> We spoke of the interest of our house, why it should always seek the best for this land and that no one had reason to think otherwise or to have a different opinion [...] I exalted his highness' [William II] house very much, its merit to this land, by the late Prince William, and Prince Maurice and the uncles and spoke not of ourselves [i.e. of the house of Nassau-Dietz], but her highness [Amalia] herself spoke of that, that there had been other Nassaus who had also shed their blood in service to this land.[65]

62 William Frederick of Nassau, *Gloria parendi*, edited by Visser and Van der Plaat, p. 191: 'gheen van beyde, maer als ick yetwess soude sijn, soo wass ick liever Frans, want die hebben mij geen grootvaeder en 4 oomen omgebracht.'

63 Stevens, *Shades of Orange*, p. 3.

64 William Frederick of Nassau, *Gloria parendi*, edited by Visser and Van der Plaat, pp. 191–192: 'H.H. seide, de Fransen hebben het oock gedaen. 't Is waer, seide prins Wilhelm, maer het was door de Spaensche factie en Guisiaenen.'

65 Ibid., VI, p. 138: 'Op 't lest spraecken wij van het interest van onss huys, waerom datselfde alletijt 't beste van dit landt behoordt te soecken en dat niemantz reden had om anders te dencken ofte opinie te hebben [...] Ick exalteerde S.H. huys seer, wat het gemeriteert had aen dit landt door prins Wilhelm saliger en prins Mauritz en de oomen en sprack niet van

Although this conversation may very well have happened, the rhetorical style of this diary entry suggests that William Frederick used Amalia to voice his own dynastic pride.[66] A few years later, in 1649, William Frederick recalled that Prince William was about to be appointed count of Holland in 1584 and given supreme sovereignty in that province but owing to his premature death the procedure was never completed by the States. In 1649, the count still mourned this lost opportunity.[67]

Supporting the War in the South

Personal and family interests are insufficient to explain why the Revolt continued to remain relevant even for those who had less to gain personally from recalling the past. The persistent political potency of the Revolt after 1621 can be explained partly by the continued war effort. Successive Habsburg rulers Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV were unwilling to part with their Low Countries because, as Laura Manzano Baena has shown, compliance with rebel demands would severely damage their reputation. They feared that a surrender of sovereignty—if at all legally possible—would undermine their future bargaining position in peace negotiations.[68] The Twelve Years' Truce, which had confirmed the United Provinces as 'free countreys, prouinces and estates, whereunto they [Philip III and the archdukes] pretend not any right or title of soueraignty' had been a very painful concession to the Dutch that was

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ons, doch H.H. sprack selfs daeraf, datter noch andere van Nassau waeren geweest, die haer bloedt oock verstort hadden gehadt tot dienst van dit landt.'

66 See also: Geert H. Janssen, *Princely Power in the Dutch Republic: Patronage and William Frederick of Nassau (1613–64)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 92–95.

67 Herbert H. Rowen, *The Princes of Orange: The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 27–30; Mörke, *Willem van Oranje*, pp. 253–254; Herman Kampinga, *De opvattingen over onze oudere vaderlandsche geschiedenis bij de Hollandsche historici der XVI^e en XVII^e eeuw* (Utrecht: Hes, 1980), p. 118; Willem Frederick of Nassau, *Gloria parendi*, edited by Visser and Van der Plaat, p. 319: 'Prins Mauritz had sich kunnen souverain maecken, doch hij wilde niet uyt oorsaeck dat hem Bernevelt het had verweten, oock omdat hij al te grooten diener van 't landt iss. Prins Wilhelm had het eer hij storf, doch die van Amsterdam hielden 't alleen op, omdat se het qualijck geschreven hadden, en ondertuschen wierdt prins Wilhelm vermoordt door een espioen op S.H. anteschambre'.

68 Manzano Baena, *Conflicting Words*, pp. 108–109, 127.

not to be repeated.[69] Habsburg political culture, hence, complicated the give-and-take that was necessary for successful peace negotiations. This is not to say, however, that people in the Southern Netherlands did not contemplate the possibility of peace. After the disastrous Habsburg losses in the period 1629–32, including the cities of Den Bosch and Maastricht, Archduchess Isabella convened the States General and together they initiated peace negotiations. In this political context, court historiographer Erycius Puteanus wrote a tract entitled *Statera belli & pacis* in which he balanced the virtues of war and peace and argued in favour of ending the war.[70] In his text, Puteanus argued that it was best for the South Netherlandish population and the Habsburg dynasty to relinquish control over the rebel territories. 'This war', Puteanus argued, 'and specifically this Netherlandish [war], cannot be carried out without pillage, murder, fire, and destruction'.[71] The war was 'antiquated' and 'without the fruit of victory has lost its bloom'.[72] He briefly explored the possibility that 'the misery exceeds the cause of the war, and the damages are greater than the justice' and, he pondered, 'considering that after sixty years of war there is no ceasefire, when will there be peace?'.[73] With his tract, Puteanus caused a political stir among pro-war Southern government officials who did not appreciate the author's meddlesome interference in the peace process and who, especially, disliked his argument that the South should throw in the towel.[74]

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69 *Articles, of a treatie of truce*, f. b1r; Israel, 'A Conflict of Empires', p. 36; Vermeir, 'Oorloghsvloeck en Vredens Zegen', p. 3.

70 Erycius Puteanus, *Statera belli & pacis cum stateris aliis eam expendentibus, nec non judiciis aliquot clarorum virorum in Batavia* (Cosmopoli: apud Batavum, patriae libertatis & pacis amantissimum, 1633); the Dutch translation will be cited: Erycius Puteanus, *Des Oorlogs ende Vredes Waeg-schale waer inne den Treves door Koninckl̄ijcke aen-leydinghe tusschen de Koninckl̄ijcke ende Vereenigde Provincien, in handelinge zijnde, wert over-wogen* (The Hague: Isaac Burghoorn, 1633).

71 Puteanus, *Des Oorlogs ende Vredes Waeg-schale*, f. a3v: 'Desen Oorlog / ende principalijck desen Neder-lantschen / en kan niet sonder rooven / moorden / branden / ende verwoesten uyt-ghevoert werden'.

72 Ibid., f. a2v: 'den Krijgh selfs om dat sy gheduyrt heeft den tijt van tsestich jaren ende meer / veroudert / ende sonder vrucht van Victorie / heeft sijne bloeme verloren.'

73 Ibid., f. a3v: 'de Ellende de oorsake vanden Oorloghe over-treft / ende dat de schade grooter is als het recht'; 'Ist dat naer tsestigh jaren Oorlogens gheenen stil-standt van Wapenen en is / wanneer sal het dan eens werden?'

74 Peter Bayle, 'Puteanus (Erycius)', in: Peter Bayle, ed., *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle. The Second Edition* (London: printed for D. Midwinter et al., 1737), p. 794; W. Mander, *Erycius Puteanus: humanist en geleerde (1574–1646)* (Venlo: Goltziusmuseum, 1974), p. 4; see for instance also a letter from Constantijn Huygens the Elder to Erycius

In general, the Habsburgs could count on considerable support from Southern elites. As we have seen, this support relied on a historical narrative which portrayed the dynasty as the best guarantor of peace and prosperity. Another example of this phenomenon is Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Austria's arrival in the Low Countries as the new governor in 1634. At his entry into Brussels on 4 November 1634, Ferdinand was advised not to appear as a cardinal because people had a dislike for these princes of the church.[75] Hence, the cardinal-infante did not wear religious attire and carried the sword of his popular paternal great-grandfather Emperor Charles V. In Ghent, where the new governor was welcomed on 28 January 1635, past and present were intertwined in a virtual reality. The Arcus Caroli on the Vrijdagmarkt is a prime example.[76] The upper-front side of the arch depicted the previous lords of the Netherlands in a scene in heaven (Figure 13). An allegorical virgin personifying the Low Countries implores Charles V to appoint the cardinal-infante governor of the land. Next to the emperor we can see his son Philip II, Archduke Albert, granddaughter Isabella and great-grandson Philip IV, who indeed passes the staff of office to his younger brother Ferdinand.[77] Just beneath this scene was another painting in which Charles V rides out together with Ferdinand. Inspired by the exhortation of Aeneas to his son Ascanius, Charles tells Ferdinand: 'Grandson, learn from my power', exhorting him to follow his example.[78] A clearer underlining of Ferdinand's relation to the celebrated emperor is hard to imagine. It illustrates the importance local authorities attached to their new governor. The

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Puteanus, 23 February 1634, in: *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608–1687)* I 1608–1634, edited by J.A. Worp (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911), p. 445.

75 W. Waterschoot, 'Eenheid van kerk en staat bij de intrede van kardinaal-infant Ferdinand', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 5:1 (1989), p. 27.

76 Guillielmus Becanus, *Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Hispaniarum infantis S.R.E. cardinalis triumphalis introitus in Flandriae metropolim Gandavum* (Antwerp: J. Meursius, 1636), plate 19.

77 According to Carl van de Velde and Hans Vlieghe, not Albert but Philip III was part of this exalted assembly: Carl van de Velde and Hans Vlieghe, *Stadsversieringen te Gent in 1635 voor de Blijde Intrede van de Kardinaal-Infant* (Ghent: Stad Gent, 1969), p. 60. Yet Philip III had never been overlord of the Netherlandish provinces because his father Philip II had given them to his daughter Isabella and her husband Albert in 1598. It is probably Albert who is depicted in this scene.

78 Becanus, *Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi*, plate 19: 'Disce nepos virtutem ex me'; Vergil, *Aeneid*, translated by Theodore C. Williams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910), 12.435; see also: Van de Velde and Vlieghe, *Stadsversieringen te Gent in 1635*, p. 51.

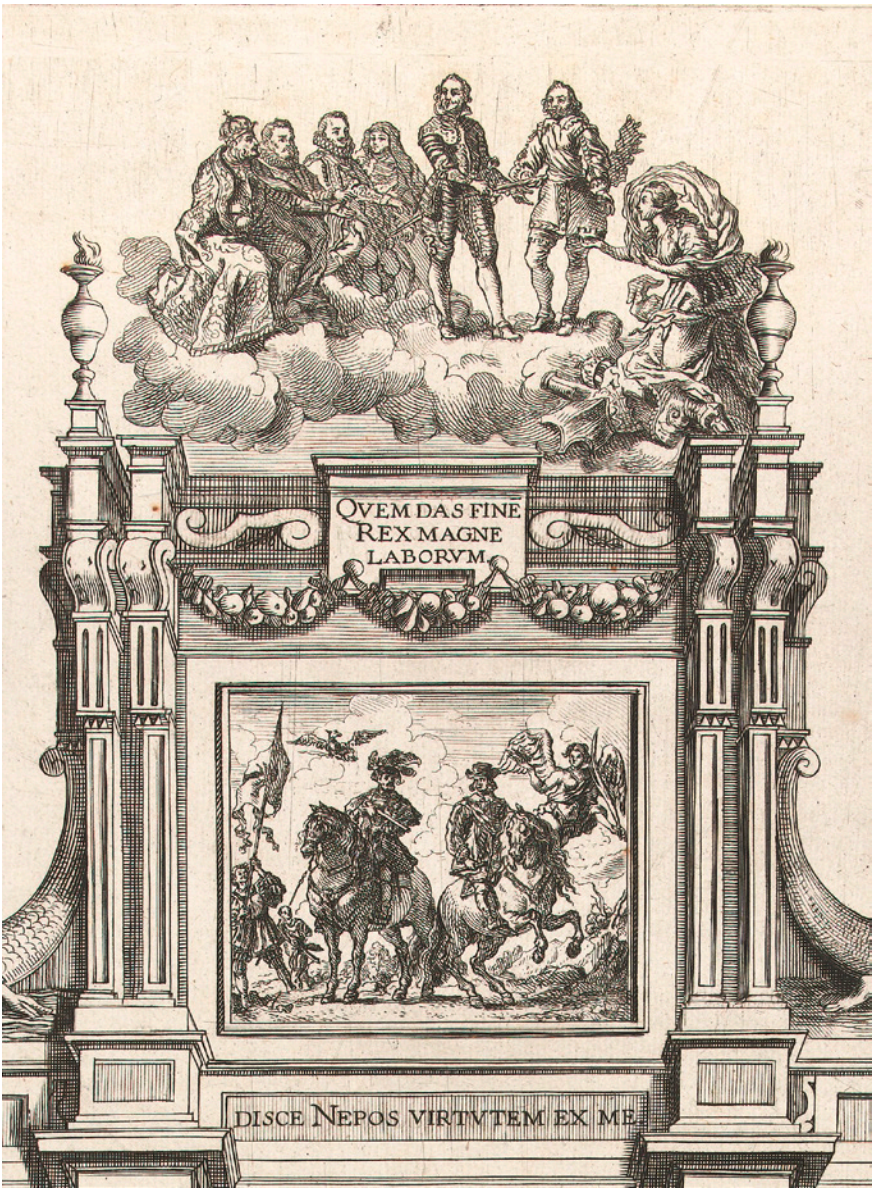

FIGURE 13 *Upper stories of the Arcus Caroli, Rijkmuseum,* RP-P-OB-76.440.

cardinal-infante was the first local Habsburg prince since Albert died in 1621, during which interim period the country had been close to a new revolt.[79]

Ferdinand arrived in the Low Countries when the Thirty Years' War was in full swing. What began in 1618 as a religious war and a conflict about the balance of power within the Holy Roman Empire, in the 1620s and 30s turned into a European conflict in which the political enmity between Habsburg and Bourbon played an important part. Before his arrival and inauguration as governor-general, Ferdinand defeated the army of the Swedish king—an ally of France—at the Battle of Nördlingen on 6 September 1634.[80] The first minister of Louis XIII of France, Cardinal Richelieu, feared that German Protestant princes would pull out of the conflict and that the loss of these allies would weaken the French position against Spain. Due to the Swedish losses of 1634, the Habsburg Empire now fully surrounded France. To prevent the country from becoming a vulnerable enclave in Habsburg Europe, France negotiated a treaty of mutual assistance with the Dutch Republic in which both countries agreed to invade the Southern Netherlands. The aim of this treaty was to drive away the Spaniards and to establish a federal Southern state. In 1635, these plans were put into action in a coordinated attack on the Habsburg Netherlands.[81] The armies ravaged the countryside and, in June, sacked the Brabant city of Tienen. Subsequently, they made preparations for besieging Leuven.

South Netherlandish propagandists condemned the French and North Netherlandish aggression and in their writings sought to incite the population's hatred of the two enemies.[82] Although the recent events provided sufficient material to do so, the Revolt appeared as an important frame of reference too. Where in 1632 references to the sixteenth-century troubles served to pacify the population and disarm the noble troublemakers, in many of the publications of 1635 these appeals to the public memory were used to stir up people against the invading enemies. It is not entirely clear who wrote the pamphlets in 1635. Maurits Sabbe has found that some were produced by rhetoricians

79 See also Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog*, p. 317.

80 Randall Lesaffer, *Defensor pacis Hispanicae: de Kardinaal-Infant, de Zuidelijke Nederlanden en de Europese politiek van Spanje: van Nördlingen tot Breda (1634–1637)* (Heule: UGA, 1994), p. 61.

81 Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog*, pp. 111–113.

82 He explains that the pamphlets were neglected for so long because of their lack of artistic appeal: Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer* (Antwerp: V. Resseler, 1933), p. 14.

(members of local chambers of rhetoric) in several South Netherlandish cities.[83] Publishing in the vernacular Dutch or French as opposed to the learned Latin, the authors of these pamphlets probably had a relatively broad readership in mind. It is likely that the pamphlets were spread by local chambers of rhetoric who often maintained close contacts with other chambers in neighbouring cities and regions.[84] About fifty satirical pamphlets dealing with the 1635 invasion survive in the royal library in Brussels.[85]

The Southern authors of these pamphlets drew historical parallels to strengthen their condemnation of the enemies. One pamphleteer referred to the fact that in 1582, the French king Henry III had allowed his youngest brother Francis, duke of Anjou to assume lordship over the Netherlands and help William of Orange in his fight against his rightful overlord. In 1635, Louis XIII was doing practically the same thing by sending his best army officers to the Low Countries. The message was: trust neither the French nor the Dutch.[86] In discussions about the military aggression of 1635, other authors referred to the duke of Alba, whose legacy was problematic in the South and who did not enjoy a good reputation.[87] In a pamphlet that justified the South's past loyalty to Habsburg, the author stated that:

> The duke of Alba rightfully took the scourge in his hand somewhat, for he was sent to punish the land [...] the duke of Alba was right indeed, because we had acted against justice and reason.[88]

The anonymous author compared Alba's cruelties with those of the Dutch. Note the author's use of the first person plural pronoun 'we' in his confession

83 Ibid., p. 289; Randall Lesaffer, 'Defensive Warfare, Prevention and Hegemony. The Justifications for the Franco-Spanish War of 1635 (Part 1)', *Journal of the History of International Law* 8:1 (2006), p. 95.

84 Karel Porteman and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen: geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur, 1560–1700* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008), p. 498.

85 Recueil des pièces relatives aux Pays-Bas, KBR, II 5.060.

86 Anonymous, *Den Nederlantschen Phaeton, Duc d'Alencon, Lowys de Bourbon met den Prince van Oraingien, hoe sy hebben willen sitten inden waeghen van Spaignien, hebben in blaecken en branden gestelt onse Nederlanden* (s.l.: s.n., 1635), f. a4r.

87 Pollmann and Stensland, 'Alba's Reputation', pp. 321–322.

88 Anonymous, *Afbeeldinghe van den courtoisen Franschen ende ghenadighen broeders-aert. Gheschildert met het onnoosel bloedt der borghers van Thienen* (Vienna [sic]: Hendrick van Thienen, 1635), p. 6: 'Duc d'Alve namp met recht de roey wat inde handt / Want hy ghesonden was tot straffe van het landt. / [...] Duc d'Alf had wat ghelijck / want tegen recht en reden / [...] soo waren wy ghetreden'.

that the Southern Netherlands deserved Alba's retribution. The Spanish might have been cruel, but at least they had a natural right to act as they did in the Netherlands. Looking at the painful past and ascribing at least part of the blame to oneself was a rhetorical strategy to denounce the behaviour of France and the Republic and establish one's own constancy towards the Habsburgs. Although Spain's policies during the early stages of the Revolt had not been praiseworthy, they were legal, which was more than the enemies could claim.

Similar observations can be made about other pamphlets, such as in *Rhyme in Honour of the Virgin of Leuven* [*Rym-dicht ter eeren die maeght Loven*]. Members of the chamber of rhetoric 'the Rose' wrote the text, published in Brussels. The authors commemorated the heroic past of Leuven, looking back to 1541 when troops from Guelders besieged the city. They were driven off notably by the university students. In 1572, the city surrendered to the beggar army: a painful episode but, as the authors explained: 'of two evils, one has to choose the best'. The authors betrayed a lack of historical knowledge when they wrote that the ruling prince of Orange in 1572 had been Maurice. Of course, William of Orange had been the belligerent.[89] In the margins the authors noted that during the early 1580s, Antwerp, Mechelen, Brussels and Tienen had been Calvinist republics, implicitly celebrating Leuven's constancy. The enumeration of the enemy threats that Leuven had been exposed to in the past served as a proud reminder that the city had had to resist enemy forces multiple times. The next episode in the historical narrative was 1583: when French troops threatened the population, an event about which 'one reads in books' and which was also known as the French Fury.[90] This was a popular episode to evoke in 1635 because the cooperation between the rebels and France during Anjou's governorship mirrored the joint Franco-Dutch attack of 1635. A contemporary chronicler copied a song that was sung in 1635: 'hey there, monsieur, you are going too far, just like you did in the year eighty-three. But then, too, you missed your target'.[91]

In the South, the invasion of 1635 by the French and Dutch armies fuelled a new kind of political memory practice that relied less than before on religious

89 Anonoymous, *Rym-dicht ter eeren die maeght Loven daerinne verhaelt wordt alle het ghene datter ghepasseert is t'zedert het Jaer 1542. tot het Jaer 1635. aengaende die troubelen aldaer gheschiet* (Brussels: Anthoni Mercans, 1635), f. a1r: 'van twee quaey / moetmen het beste kiesen'.

90 Ibid., f. a1r: 'leestmen in boecken'.

91 Anonymous, 'Chronycke van Nederlant, 1523–1636', KBR, MS 10245–6, 161v: 'holla monsieur holla, ghy maecket al te groff Ghelijck ghy hebt gedaen, int iaer tachtentigh drij Maer gy sloeght daer oock mis'.

content. The story of the Revolt was told, Counter-Reformation-style, as a struggle between good native Catholics and evil foreign heretics. In 1635, other methods of targeting enemies abroad complemented this religious reading of the past. Chapter 2 has shown that in the Northern Netherlands at the beginning of the seventeenth century stories of shared victimhood could bring together people from different regions, confessions and political preferences. The large-scale invasion in 1635 motivated Southern authors also to portray Southerners as a suffering people and to draw parallels with the past in order to mobilise the population against the enemies. This gave a whole new dimension to the ways in which anxiety about the war could be voiced. The author of an important manuscript chronicle of which numerous copies survive to the present day, Joannes Jacquinet, gleaned his information largely from the pamphlets discussed here and observed that 'the destruction of Tienen was the ruin of the inhabitants of the city. But it benefitted the land, because the Hollanders and the French could now for a long time be slandered [for these misdeeds].'[92] To give an example, in *Tears of Peace* [*Vrede traenen*], an anonymous author, probably a Southerner, addressed the Northern pro-war faction and in just a few pages retold the sequence of canonical episodes that was popular in the North. But he interpreted the episodes in an entirely different way.[93] The religious persecutions of the 1560s had perhaps not been the best way to solve the problem of heresy, according to the author, yet he wondered by what right the rebel heretics claimed to possess religious freedom. Philip II had after all pledged to defend the true Catholic faith, and, at an even more basic level, 'what prince allows such a thing, where do you see such things occurring?'[94] The author continued that if indeed the church needed to be reformed, 'how much longer does it take? Shortly you will teach something

92 Joannes Jacquinet, 'Historie der Nederlanden onder de Regering van Albertus en Isabella, Philippus IV en Karel II: 1612 tot 1683, met bijgevoegde portretten', KBR, MS 15938, f. 49v: 'Dese destructie van Tienen was de bederffenis vande ingesetenen der stadt. Maer twas de welvaert vant lant, want de Hollanders en Francoisen sauden langen tyt daerby hebben konnen gespyts worden.'; Jacquinet was right. In his religious history of the world, Cornelius Hazart for instance devoted attention to the early stages of the Revolt and then jumped to 1635: Cornelius Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele wereldt, namelyck vande voorgaende ende teghenwoordighe eeuwe* III (Antwerp: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1669), pp. 245–246.

93 Anonymous, *Vrede traenen, dat zijn: naakt-vertoonde clachten over de blindelingse verachte Vreede, met bewijs vande schaede by alle Oorloghen in Nederlandt gheleden* (s.l.: s.n., 1635).

94 Ibid., p. 4: 'Wat Vorst laet sullicks toe / waer siet ghy sullicks gheschien'.

else, and deform that which was reformed.'[95] To continue, not the duke of Alba, who was sent by the legitimate overlord Philip, but Prince William of Orange was the villain because the prince acted out of only selfish greed and jealousy of others. The sequence continued, but the message was already clear: only on the terms of Ferdinand could a durable peace be concluded, and it was in the best interest of Northerners to cease their rebellion and return under the authority of the Habsburgs.

In another pamphlet published anonymously after the siege of Leuven, and entitled *The Breakfast of Leuven* [*Den ombyt van Loven*], this renewed interest in the recent past also becomes clear. The author wrote that French and Dutch soldiers saw Leuven as their 'breakfast'. Brussels was to be 'lunch', and Antwerp 'supper'.[96] After the gruesome fury of Tienen and the deplorable siege of Leuven, the author posed the following rhetorical question:

> You stock of the Anti-Christ
> Is that the relief from the Spanish yoke
> That you await?
> That the Spanish yoke is allegedly too tough
> People now see that differently
> By all the French wanton deception
> And robbing Hollanders.[97]

This anonymous author disparaged the heretical nature of the Hollanders, but more importantly, he denounced their hypocrisy in deriving national pride from collective suffering. In 1635, Hollanders were guilty of the same atrocities as the Spanish had been in the sixteenth century. In much the same way that Northerners had adopted the Black Legend to vilify Spaniards, Southern authors now blackened the Dutch enemy. And for decades to come, people in the South celebrated their past governor Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand as the

95 Ibid., p. 5: 'hoe lang duert het doch? stracx gaet hy anders leeren / En't geen gereformeert was weder deformeren'.

96 Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer,* p. 272.

97 Anonymous, *Den ombyt van Loven ofte van de belegeringer der Stadt van Loven / door den Hollandtschen ende Franschen Legher* (s.l.: s.n., 1635), p. 3: 'Ghy Anti-Christ gheslachte / Is dat 't verlos van 't Spaensche jock / Dat ghy van u doet wachten? / Dat Spaensche jock te swaer sou zyn / Dat zietmen nu wel anders / Aen al dat dertel Franschen schyn / en roovers van Hollanders.'

victor of 1635, for instance during the 1685 centenary of Antwerp's liberation by Alexander Farnese in 1585.[98]

Considering that Southerners suffered from Northern violence long before 1635, enemy cruelties cannot be the only explanation for the growing interest in non-confessional history. Perhaps it became a bit more complicated to attribute all atrocities to heretics since the French enemy was Catholic and headed by the 'Most Christian King'. Cruelty stories in news about the Thirty Years' War also played an important role. The epic sack of Magdeburg in 1631, for instance, made a deep impression in Protestant and Catholic Europe alike, and it premediated the sack of Tienen in 1635.[99] In the 1635 corpus of pamphlets about the Franco-Dutch invasion, the Magdeburg episode is mentioned several times. Finally, as the years passed, the history of the beginning of the Revolt may have lost some of its sharp edges. Just as in the North, the generation that had consciously witnessed the iconoclastic furies of 1566 and the duke of Alba's subsequent governorship had begun to die out. Whereas in the North this gave rise to the fear that the Revolt would be forgotten, in the Southern Netherlands no such anxiety existed, and it seems that it simply became less complicated to discuss the war as a conflict between two states rather than as a domestic civil war in which Netherlanders had fought one another.

On 24 June 1635, Infante Ferdinand formally answered the French king's declaration of war.[100] With references to Philip II's successful negotiation of the Peace of Vervins in 1598, Ferdinand wrote about Philip IV's condemnation of the French aid to the rebels in the North and the value he attributed to his epithet of 'Most Catholic King'.[101] In light of the aggressive stance of France and the French king's justification of the war, the chief-president of the Privy Council Pieter Roose ordered theologian Cornelius Jansenius to write a tract to denounce the French participation in the Protestant alliance during the Thirty Years' War.[102] Jansenius published the text in September 1635, and it

98 Anthony Creel, 'Bondich verhaal van Anthony Creel outste helbardier van 't edelmogende collegie admiraliteijt binnen Amsterdam', (1685), KBR, MS 18991–92, f. 66r.

99 Hans Medick and Pamela Selwyn, 'Historical Event and Contemporary Experience: the Capture and Destruction of Magdeburg in 1631', *History Workshop Journal* 52 (2001), pp. 23–25.

100 *Declaration de son Alteze tovchant la gverre contre la covronne de France* (Brussels: Hubert Anthoine Velpius, 1635).

101 Ibid., ff. a2r–a3r.

102 Cornelius Jansenius, *Mars Gallicus: seu de iustitia armorum et foederum regis Galliae libri duo* (s.l.: s.n., 1635); the French edition will be cited: Cornelius Jansenius, *Le mars francois ou La guerre de France, en laquelle sont examinées les raisons de la justice pretendue des armes et des alliances du roi de France* (s.l.: s.n., 1637).

was spread in the Habsburg Netherlands but also in England and the Dutch Republic.[103] In line with the government viewpoint, Jansenius condemned Richelieu's perceived opportunism and the French government's attempt to justify its alliance with the Dutch Republic by claiming that the war between the Dutch Republic and Spain was not a religious war. He wrote that

> it seems to me [...] that the common people of France convince themselves that the war of Germany [the Thirty Years' War], and still less, that of the Low Countries [the Revolt], is not a war of religion; and that it is only about some difficulties concerning the governance, and the state, in which the king of France wants to participate without embroiling himself in matters of religion.[104]

Jansenius stressed, however, that 'the entire war of the States [the Dutch Republic] against the king of Spain is a war of religion, in its beginning, progress and in its end.'[105] This was an important point to underline, as we can see from the conclusion Jansenius drew subsequently:

> As a result, it is not permitted to support them [the Dutch] by alliances nor by assistance. These truths were so manifest that they cannot be disavowed but by the Machiavellists, who make religion serve the state, the spirit serve the body, and eternity serve temporality.[106]

To prove his point that the Revolt was a war of religion, Jansenius presented historical evidence. The war began, he argued, when Protestants from abroad, notably Lutherans and Calvinists, started spreading their hateful doctrines and

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103 Richard Pauli-Stravius to Francesco Barberini, 3 April 1636, in: *Correspondance de Jansénius*, edited by Jean Orcibal (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1947), p. 604.

104 Jansenius, *Le mars francois*, pp. 244–245: 'Il me semble [...] que le menu peuple de France se persuade, que la guerre d'Allemagne, & moins encore, celle des Païs-Bas, n'est pas une guerre de Religion; & qu'il s'y agit seulement de quelques difficultés touchant la Police, & l'Estat, ausquelles le Roi de France veut prendre part, sans se méler du fait de Religion.'

105 Ibid., p. 244: 'Toute la guerre des Estats contre le Roi d'Espagne, est une guerre de Religion, en son commencement en son progrès, & en sa fin.'

106 Ibid.: 'Par consequent il n'est pas permi de la renforçer par alliances ni par secours. Ces verités étant si manifestes, qu'elles ne peuvent étre desadvoiiées que par les Machiavellistes, qui font servir la Religion à l'Estat, l'ame au corps, & l'eternité au temps'.

began publishing remonstrations in which they called for freedom of religion.[107] In 1566, the Iconoclastic Furies broke out during which heretics destroyed

> the images, the crosses, the altars, the baptisteries, the tabernacles in which the Holy Sacrament was kept, the organs, the sees, the chapels, the pulpits, the chandeliers, the missals, the calices, the ampullas, the thuribles and, and other ornaments used by the church.[108]

In Antwerp,

> the Calvinist Emanuel van Meteren, who has himself been a witness of these sacrileges, and who talks about it without interest of religion has wanted to pass the history to posterity. He says that on the first night, people behaved with such fury, that by twelve hours of the evening there was no chapel that was not broken; no altar that was not knocked down; no image that was not torn, in that beautiful church of our Lady.[109]

These crimes had led Philip II to send the duke of Alba to the Low Countries, in order to bring all heretics to justice.[110] Jansenius also pointed to the vices of heretics in general and of Dutch heretics in particular. He found that French Catholics accused Huguenots of disloyalty to their natural lord. Jansenius used this piece of information to draw a parallel between France and the Low Countries. 'The Hugenots and those of Rochelle', he wrote, 'are rebels to their king: the Hollanders, too, rebel against their king; they have obeyed without difficulty his grandfather and great-grandfather [Philip II and Charles V]; they

107 Ibid., pp. 245–247.

108 Ibid., pp. 247–248: 'les images, les Croix, les Autels, les Baptisteres, les Tabernacles, où reposoit le S. Sacrament, les Orgues, les Sieges, les Chapelles, les Chaires, les Chandeliers, les Missels, les Calices, les Burettes, les Encensoirs, & autres ornements servants à l'usage de l'Eglise'.

109 Ibid., p. 249: 'Emanuel de Metere Calviniste, qui a este lui même têmoin de ces sacrileges, & qui en parle sans interest de Religion; en a voulu laisser l'histoire à la posterité. Car il dit que la premiere nuict, on se porta avec tant de furie, qu'avant les douze heures du soir il n'y eut pas une Chapelle, qui ne fut rompue; pas un Autel, qui ne fut abbatu; pas une image, qui ne fut brisée, dans cette belle Eglise de notre Dame'.

110 Ibid., p. 250.

have not denied that he [Philip IV] succeeded legitimately'.[111] Again, he used historical evidence to make this point: 'Each member of their faction, from the day of its birth to the year of the truce, has tended to no other thing than to violating [agreements], and to damaging them, and to mocking the contracts by which they pledged themselves to tolerate the ancient religion.'[112] Jansenius argued that despite concluding the Pacification of Ghent in 1576, even in that very city the heretics subsequently 'chased ecclesiastics, pillaged monasteries and counteracted multiple articles of that peace'.[113] Similarly, in Antwerp the inhabitants proclaimed a 'Peace of Religion' in 1578, which allowed both Catholics and Protestants to profess their faith. Yet, Calvinists violated this agreement and 'when they became stronger, they overthrew the Catholics.'[114]

Authorities in the Southern Netherlands continued to oppose the rebels in the North. But from Puteanus' tract as well as from the fact the government felt it was necessary to publish a response, we can deduce that the continuation of the war was a matter of debate. For the Spanish king, in any case, the war with France from 1635 onwards and closer to home the 1640 revolts in Catalonia and Portugal seriously undermined his ability to fight the Dutch Republic. In the early 1640s, therefore, Philip IV began to sue for peace.

Opposing Peace in the North

In the Dutch Republic, popular anti-Spanish narratives seriously obstructed peace-making efforts. There were deep divisions between opponents and supporters of peace, not only between provinces—Holland was generally in favour of ending the war, Zeeland against—but also within provincial and urban governments. The Holland towns of Leiden and Haarlem for instance feared that peace would injure their textile industry. Jonathan Israel rightly called the war and peace discussion in the period 1621–1648 'one of the most divisive political debates of the Dutch Golden Age.'[115] To fight out their disagreements with

111 Ibid., p. 314: 'les Huguenots & les Rochelois sont rebelles à leur Roi: les Hollandois le sont aussi au leur; ils ont obei sans difficulté à son aieul & bisaieul; ils n'ont jamais nié, qu'il ne leur ait succedé legitimement'.

112 Ibid., p. 357: 'Toute leur faction ne tend à autre chose depuis le jour de sa naissance, jusques à l'année de la Trêve, qu'à la persecuter, & à l'esteindre, & qu'à se mocquer des contracts, par lesquels ils s'obligeoient de souffrir l'ancienne Religion.'

113 Ibid.: 'ils chasserent les Ecclesiastiques, ils pillerent les Monasteres, & firent contre plusjeurs articles de cette Paix'.

114 Ibid.: 'quand ils se virent les plus forts, ils mirent à bas les Catholiques.'

115 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 508.

supporters of peace in the period 1621–1648, anti-peace lobbyists throughout the Republic deployed references to the past to keep alive the idea of Spanish unreliability and cruelty and to argue that the war should be continued. Each time a peace was mooted, we see a surge in pamphlets arguing for or against peace with strikingly similar sequences of references to the Revolt as supporting evidence.

Of course, we could dismiss the use of appeals to the public memory of the Revolt as a commercial strategy to sell more books, pamphlets and prints, yet this explanation does not get us much further. Even if references to the Revolt were used to sell more books, that would not rule out the possibility—indeed, it would even support the hypothesis—that these references were expected to appeal to large sections of the population. Whether the political motivation behind the evocation of the past was genuine is in many ways immaterial. It is more relevant to ask why the Revolt remained relevant politically and commercially even though the people who had actually witnessed the events were dying out.

The ongoing war, and especially the recurring discussions about peace negotiations, can explain in part the survival of a lively public memory of the Revolt. I can give three brief examples of how people deployed the history of the conflict in discussions about war and peace at three different stages in the period 1621–48: the recommencement of the war in 1621, political rapprochements between the Republic and the Habsburg overlord in the 1630s, and the period leading up to the Peace of Westphalia in the 1640s.[116] In 1621, an anonymous author argued that 'to be sure, peace would have been music in our ears should it have come from another side than the king of Spain, Jesuits and creatures of the pope'.[117] 'Never', the author claims, 'have the Spaniards made any agreement with any potentates other than with a double agenda'.[118] To support this statement he used as 'example' the Pacification of Ghent (1576) and the Spanish Armada (1588), concluding that 'when we thought we could trust them [the Spaniards], they proceeded to deceive us.'[119] Another anonymous

116 In the Knuttel collection in the National Library of the Netherlands, for instance, these surges are clearly discernible: W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* 1:2 (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1978).

117 Anonymous, *Het lof vanden oorloghe boven den Spaenschen peys* (The Hague: Aert Meuris, 1621), f. b3v: 'Voorwaer de Peys ware ons wel een melodye als sy ons van een ander zijde quame dan van den Coninck van Spaengjen, Iesuiten ende creaturen vanden Paus.'

118 Ibid., f. b3v: 'Nimmermeer en hebben de Spaengjaerts accort met eenige Potentaten gemaeckt dan met een dobbel verstant'.

119 Ibid.: 'Als wy haer best meenden te betrouwen, doe wierden wy aldereerst bedroghen.'

opponent of peace in 1621 summarised the history of the Revolt in a nutshell, covering in fewer than sixty pages the Inquisition (referring to 'Pieter Bor in the third book of The Origins of the Netherlandish Troubles'), the establishment of new dioceses, the religious persecutions and the petition of the nobility to Margaret of Parma.[120]

In a similar pamphlet published a decade later by an opponent of peace in 1630, entitled *Clear Sign, that the United Netherlands should not negotiate a ceasefire with the enemy* [*Klare aenwijsinge, dat de Vereenighde Nederlanden, gheen treves met den vyandt dienen te maecken*], the anonymous author rejected the thought of negotiating a peace. He did so by referring to the 1560s, '70s and '80s to prove the unreliability of Spanish rulers.[121] 'And who is so ignorant', the author asked rhetorically, 'that he does not know that most of the lords who currently sit in yonder government, partial enemies of our state, yes of the Netherlands in general or the privileges, rights, laws, and wealth in particular, are hispanicised and Jesuitic persons?'[122] He continued by noting that

> after all, we have found in the year 1584 [sic] that the Walloon provinces committed perjury, and must up to this day be held as disloyal and dishonourable breakers of pacts, because not only did they unfaithfully break the solemnly concluded and sworn contract in Ghent [Pacification of Ghent] and the subsequent Union under the confederated provinces [Union of Utrecht], they also concluded a new contract with the prince of Parma [the reconciliation treaties of Alexander Farnese] against us.[123]

120 Anonymous, *Aen-merckinge op de propositie vanden ambassadeur Peckius. Inhoudende een kort verhael vande wreedtheyd ende bedriegerije vanden Spaenschen koning ende zynen Raed aen dese landen bewesen, ende de rechtvaerdigheyd van onsen oorlogh daer tegen* (Amsterdam: Marten Jansz Brandt, 1621), p. 10: 'Pieter Bor in het derde Boeck van den oorsprongh der Nederlandsche beroerten'.

121 Anonymous, *Klare aenwijsinge, dat de Vereenighde Nederlanden, gheen treves met den vyandt dienen te maecken* (s.l.: s.n., 1630), Knuttel 4014.

122 Ibid., f. b2v: 'Ende wie isser onder ons soo slecht / die niet en weet dat het meestendeel van de Heeren die tegenwoordigh ginder in Regierige siten / partiale vyanden van onsen Staet / jae van de Nederlanden in't Generael ofter haerder Privilegien / Rechten / Wetten / en Welvaert in't bysonder / voorts Gespaignioliserde ende Jesuijtsche persoonen zijn?'

123 Ibid.: 'Wy hebben immers oock in't Jaer 1584 bevonden dat alle de Walsche Provintien haer hooft aen meyneedigheyt hebben gebonden / ende by ons voor ontrou ende erloose Verbondt-breeckers tot op esen huydigen dagh moeten gehouden worden / want sy en hebben niet alleen haer Contract tot Gent solemnelijck met ons gemaeckt en beswooren / mitsgaders de naerder Unie onder de gesamentlijcke Provintien opgerecht / troulooselijck

To further shock his readers, the author mentioned

> all the murdering, hanging, burning, beheading, strangling, and drowning that happened here in the Netherlands since the year sixty-six, to an estimated eighty thousand people, and that the light of the Gospel in that time was extinguished throughout the land: as well as that the duke of Alba with his Spanish army had come into the land, and did such great malice, that all good hearts tremble when they think of it.[124]

Multiple publications published around 1630 dealt with the duplicity of Spanish rulers in peace negotiations during the 1570s, '80s and '90s.[125] The anti-peace lobby was a powerful movement, but we must not forget that it was an *opposition* movement and that there was substantial public support for peace negotiations. The most powerful province of the Republic, Holland, despite internal divisions pushed for peace, and one anonymous author arguing in its favour abhorred the bellicose language of the war faction, stating that 'the peace is vox populi and vox Dei. And, surely, it is about time after approximately eighty years of war.'[126]

Nevertheless, discontent was rife. When a peace was in the making at Münster during convoluted negotiations in the 1640s, another protester wrote

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gebroken / maer noch daerenboven met den Prins van Parma een nieu Contract gemaeckt tegen ons'.

124 Ibid., f. e2v: 'Alle het moorden / hangen / branden / onthoofden / wurgen en verdrincken dat hier in Nederlandt 'tzedert het jaer ses-en-sestich ter saecke van de Religie heeft omtgegaen / het welcke geschat wort op wel tachtigh duysent Menschen / Mitsgaders dat het licht des Evangeliums in die tijt wederom door't gantsche Landt wiert uytgeblust: Als oock dat Duc d'Alba met syn Spaensch Leger hier in't Landt is gekomen / ende soo groote moetwil heeft bedreven / dat alle goede herten daer over schricken als sy daer aen gedencken'.

125 See for instance also: anonymous, *Tractaet tegens pays, treves, en onderhandelinge met den Koningh van Spaignien: waer inne meest alles, wat den propooste van dien bygebracht kan werden, verhandelt wert* (The Hague: Aert Meuris, 1629), Knuttel 3918, ff. d1v–d4v; anonymous, *Redenen, waeromme dat de Vereenighde Nederlanden, geensints eenighe vrede met den Koningh van Spaignien konnen, mogen, noch behooren te maecken: Zijnde het tweede deel van 't Tractaet tegens Pays, Treves, en Onderhandelinge met den Koningh van Spaignien* (The Hague: Aert Meuris, 1630).

126 Anonymous, *Montstopping aende vrede-haters* (Leiden: Cornelis Maertensz van Schie, 1647), f. a2r: 'De Vrede is vox populi ende vox Dei. Ende seecker 'tis wel eens tijd na ontrent 80. Jaren Oorlogh.'; this pamphlet was a reaction to: anonymous, *Spaensche triumphe, over haer onlanghs bekomen victorien in de Gheunieerde Nederlanden. / By Een lief-hebber des vaderlandts.* L.G.I.M (s.l.: s.n., 1647).

about the Netherlands' 'troubled intestines'.[127] In this pamphlet, a personification of the Netherlands addressed its inhabitants and said that 'in the beginning there was one heart, one soul, one will, God's honour, the maintenance of the religion, privileges, freedoms, and the damage inflicted on the Spaniard'.[128] The author had the Netherlands argue that by entering into peace negotiations with the Spanish king, the authorities were risking everything the Dutch had been fighting for. By using the past as a mirror, this danger could be averted. 'Note the experience', the author urged his readers, 'in all times, in your century, in all histories, see it, prevent it, before you feel it.'[129] Unfortunately, 'all memories, previous experience, [and] warnings appear to be in vain. The Trojan horse, the great monster of Münster must be drawn in'.[130] Warning his readers, the author gave the following advice: 'Do not forget the terrible tyranny, of the duke of Alba, the unceasing persecutions, Inquisition in Spain, in the Netherlands, up until this day'.[131]

With similar concerns about peace, in 1641 printer Cornelis van der Plasse published *The Spanish Tiranny in the Netherlands* [*De Spaensche tiranye gheschiet in Nederlant*], a text which had already seen editions in various forms from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Van der Plasse wrote in his address to the city magistrate of Amsterdam that he had decided to print this work and dedicate it to the city, 'since you yourselves on the one hand, and your forefathers on the other, have opposed and hindered the mentioned furies and inhuman cruelties, besides the violation of the privileges, and have risked goods and blood for that cause'.[132] Another example is Amsterdam printer Otto Smient, who published in 1643 a new edition of the Beggar Songbook. 'Dear

127 Anonymous, *Nederlants beroerde ingewanden, over de laetste tijdinge, van de Munstersche vrede handelinge* (s.l.: s.n., 1647); it is not the intention of this study to treat the Münster negotiations in-depth. For recent examinations of the negotiations on the Habsburg and Orange side, see respectively: Manzano Baena, *Conflicting Words*; Van der Lem, *De Opstand in de Nederlanden*, pp. 173–199.

128 Ibid., f. a3r: 'Inden begin / wast een herte een ziele / een wille. Godts eere/ de maintentie van de Religie / privilegien / vryheden / afbreucke van de Spangiaert.'

129 Ibid., f. b1r: 'Siet de ervarentheyt / in alle tijden / in uwe eeuwe / in alle Historien / siet het / voorkomt het / eer ghy't voelt'.

130 Ibid., f. a3v: 'Doch alle memorien / voorgaende ervarentheyt / waerschouwingen / mogen niet helpen. Het troaensche paert / het groote Munsters Monster moet ingehaelt'.

131 Ibid., f. b3v: Vergeet niet de grouwelijcke tijrannye / van Duc d'Alba / de continuele vervolginghe / Inquisitie in Spaengien / in Neerlant / tot op desen dagh'.

132 Anonymous, *De Spaensche tiranye gheschiet in Nederlant* (Amsterdam: wed. Cornelis Lodewijcksz vander Plasse, 1641), f*3v: 'alsoo uwe E.E. eensdeels / andersdeels uwer E.E. Voor-vaderen dese voorsz heftighe furien ende onmenschelijcke wreedtheden /

patriots and supporters of our flourishing and honourable Republic', Smient addressed his readers, 'I observe not only from old but also young people of our united Netherlands, how agreeable it has been for them to sing and read the first edition of the Beggar Songbook'.[133] Popular demand, he claimed, had driven him to bring a new edition on the market. Smient further motivated his decision to publish a new edition by pointing out that 'the young right from childhood, should learn it like the A B C so that they could know the tyrannical and inhuman way in which the Spanish king has had the Netherlands ruled, under the policies of the bloodhound the duke of Alba'.[134] To render his exhortation more appealing, Smient added that he had 'regularly heard from his grandfather, who has experienced and seen the sad tragedy, whose father was condemned by the duke of Alba to be burnt in Vlissingen because of his religion, but by divine assistance escaped the duke's bloodthirsty hand.'[135] By 1643, the Revolt had become part of an ever more distant past. It was not Smient himself, but his great-grandfather who had experienced the duke of Alba's persecutions. Still, the distance in time does not seem to have lessened the political potency of this reference.

The widespread appropriation of the legacy of 'ancestors' who lived at the time of the Revolt shows that descendants considered the conflict as part of their personal or family identity but also very much as part of a Netherlandish identity. It is easy to go along with the rhetoric of early modern people and believe that they wrote their historical texts from a sense of tradition, to preserve 'the' memory of 'the' past. But this explanation ignores an important development. For appeals to preserve the public memory of the Revolt in the Republic demonstrate strikingly that in the eyes of many the war had become

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neffens de verbreckinghe vande Privilegien hebben teghen ghestaen ende verhindert / ende goedt en bloedt daer voren ghewaeght'.

133 *Het tweede deel, van't Geuse liet-boeck, bevattende al de gheschiedenisse, ende den oorspronck van de Nederlandtsche oorloghe* (Amsterdam: Otto Barentsz Smient, c. 1643), f. a2r: 'Lieve Patriotten ende Voorstanders van onse bloeyende ende Loffelijcke Republijcke; ick bemerckende niet alleen aen de Oude maer oock aen de Ionghe Lieden van onse vereenichde Nederlanden, hoe aenghenaem dat het is geweest voor haer alle in't singhen ende lesen van het eerste deel van 't Geuse Liet-Boeck'.

134 Ibid., f. a2r: 'de Ieught van Ionghs op behoorde als het A:B:C te leeren, om datse konnen weten, hoe tyrannich ende onmenschelijck den Spaneschen Koninck heeft laten Regeeren inde Nederlanden, onder het beleyt van den Bloedthont Duc d'Alba',

135 Ibid., ff. a2r–v: 'dat ick meenichmael van mijn Groot-Vader heb hooren vertrecken, die de droevige Tragedie beleeft ende ghesien heeft, wiens Vader door d'Alba om 't ghelooff ten vuere binnen Vlissinghen veroordeelt was, maer door een God'lijcke hulp sijn bloetdorstige hant ontkomen is.'

a defining feature of Dutch identity and in that capacity a constitutive part of Dutch culture. A peace was, therefore, not simply a peace: it was also a threat to Dutch identity. There are numerous examples of how the Revolt had become part of Dutch culture in the seventeenth century. In the 1620s, for instance, the Zeeland poet Simon van Beaumont casually mentioned the duke of Alba in a poem about the capricious nature of mankind. One of the strophes was about a hoodlum, wearing a modish hat adorned by a plume: 'That windbag who prances the street, who with a knife on his buckle always talks about fighting, and speaks so much of his valour, as if he had defeated the duke of Alba on the field of battle'.[136] Another example of this phenomenon and of the Revolt as cultural entertainment can be found in the Old Maze in Amsterdam. Marijke Spies has shown that early modern sightseers, coming from outside the city or just enjoying an excursion from home, visited this pleasure garden. Around 1625, a local innkeeper constructed the maze, the function of which could be roughly compared to that of a modern theme park.[137] In 1645, the owner of the theme park published a booklet describing the main attractions, which visitors could buy as a souvenir.[138] One of the most noteworthy attractions was a fountain around which stood several statues made of stone or marble representing important historical figures. The selection of statues reflected the political developments of the time, and throughout the seventeenth century statues were added to the collection. Among them was for instance the exotic effigy of a Chinese man and some kind of freak show: Eva Vliegen 'who, people say, had not eaten for thirty-two years.'[139] The text explained why these historical figures were part of the maze: 'Since the memory of people is transient, and since they forget like a dream what they just saw due to other things crossing their path, old renowned men have erected effigies [...] of that which

136 Simon van Beaumont, 'Grillen. Aen den achtbaren, geleerden, Heer Petrus Scriverius', in *Zeevsche nachtegael ende des selfs dryderley gesang: Geheel anders inder vvaerheyt verthoont, als de selve voor desen by sommighe uyt enckel mis-verstant verkeerdelijck is gheoordeelt. Door verscheyden treffelijcke Zeeusche Poëten by een ghebracht; ende verciert met Copere Plaeten* II (Middelburg: Ian Pietersz vande Venne, 1623), p. 6: Dien snorcker die soo breedt gaet swaeyen over straet, / Die mettet mes op sy altijt van vechten praet, / En van sijn vromicheyt soo wonder veel vertelt, / Als of hy had Ducdalf gheslagen uyttet velt?'.

137 Marijke Spies, 'De Amsterdamse doolhoven—Populair cultureel vermaak in de zeventiende eeuw,' *Literatuur: tijdschrift over Nederlandse letterkunde* 18:2 (2001), p. 71.

138 Ibid., ff. a1v–a2r.

139 Anonymous, *Verklaringe van treffelijcke konstighe wercken* [...]. *Alles in den Ouden Doolhof, tot Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Crispijn vander Pas, c. 1645), f. a1v.

they have wanted to preserve for posterity.'[140] One of these effigies was the duke of Alba. He was described in the booklet as 'the foremost cause of the Netherlandish troubles'.

Conclusion

Despite all opposition in both North and South, on 15 May 1648 the Peace of Münster came into force. It ended a war that, as historians have rightly observed, consisted of many different conflicts, not always evolving around similar issues. But this chapter has demonstrated that for contemporary Netherlanders the sixteenth-century framing of the Revolt had caught on very well. So well, that even when the conflict could no longer be seen as a civil war, it continued to evoke sixteenth-century associations. This was partly the result of the intense political exploitation of the past in the period leading up to 1621, both in the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands. The 'right' knowledge about the Revolt became a requirement for being a 'good' Netherlander. And the two sets of canonical memories in North and South supported very different ideas about what it was to be a good Netherlander.

In the long term, this interplay between memory and identity in both North and South remained very important for individuals. As the case of anti-peace propaganda in the North has shown, recalling the Revolt in opposition to peace consolidated the canon's status as an anti-peace narrative, and frequent references to the conflict increased its relevance in society, even for those who did not share that particular political agenda. After 1621 we increasingly see that the Revolt became an important part of Dutch and South Netherlandish culture. Examples are the maze in Amsterdam or the cursory references to evil Hollanders in the South that do not at first sight seem to serve specific political purposes. In the next chapter, we will see how the appropriation of the public memory of the Revolt continued after the war ended in 1648.

140 Ibid., f. a2r: 'Alsoo de memori by den Menschen vergancklijck is, ende de Menschen door andere voorvallende dinghen het geene dat sy datelijck gesien hebben, als eenen droom syn vergetende, soo hebben de Oude beroemde Mannen laeten beeltenissen oprechten [. . .]; het geene sy voor de nakomelingen wilden bewwaert hebben'.

CHAPTER 6

Memories after Westphalia

On 28 August 1667, the Flemish city of Lille surrendered to Louis XIV after a siege of more than two weeks. Local weaver Pierre-Ignace Chavatte remarked on and criticised some important changes in his city. In his manuscript chronicle he identified the 'first [French] gouvernor in the city of Lille, whom people call Marquess of Belfondre',[1] clearly noting that this was an important break with the past.[2] On 9 November he observed a young man being publicly humiliated on a raised platform. The reason for this punishment was that in a drunken brawl with some people from Switzerland, the foreigners had drunk to the health of the king of France, but the young man from Lille had drunk to the health of the king of Spain.[3] On 18 May 1670, Chavatte recorded that when Spanish emissaries passed through Lille, a young boy also shouted 'Long live the king of Spain'.[4] In the new political context that was no longer done. Fortunately, not everything had changed. On the last day of May, Chavatte noted, people celebrated the procession of the Holy Sacrament, 'in the same way as during the time of Spain'.[5] When the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1668 formally confirmed the French king's annexation of Lille, Chavatte remarked that there was 'not a single triumphal float. This was a peace without joy because people [now] belonged to the king of France'.[6] Memories of 'natural' Habsburg rule clearly prevented Lillois like Chavatte from accepting the authority of the French king.

This chapter will address the question why public memories of the past could remain relevant even after the war had come to an end. In particular, it will examine the way in which new military and political crises affected practices of memory in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. The Revolt against the Habsburg overlord had divided North and South, but now France became

1 Bernardin Gigault de Bellefonds (1630–1694).

2 Pierre-Ignace Chavatte, *'Chronique mémorial des choses mémorables par moy Pierre-Ignace Chavatte' (1657–1693). Le mémorial d'un humble tisserand lillois au Grand siècle*, edited by Alain Lottin (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 2010), p. 170.

3 Ibid., p. 171.

4 Ibid., p. 199: 'Vive le roy d'Espagne'.

5 Ibid., p. 177: 'à l'ordinaire que du temps d'Espagne'.

6 Ibid., p. 178: 'nul char de triomphe. C'estoit une paix sans joi parce qu'on demeuroit au roy de France'.

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an enemy of both. How, if at all, did this change of alliances and international relations influence the way in which Netherlandish people framed their war experiences? First, I will look at how public memory practices of the Revolt developed in the Southern Netherlands. Secondly, I will examine the political exploitation of the public memory of the Revolt in the Dutch Republic, especially by supporters and opponents of the house of Orange during the First Stadholderless Period (1650–1672).

The Pretense of Continuity in the South

The Peace of Westphalia did not remove the feelings of hostility between the Southern Netherlands and the Republic overnight. The Spanish governor in the Southern Netherlands, the count of Monterey, supposedly said as late as the 1670s that he considered William III 'as a traitor, son and grandson of a traitor and a descendant of a family that had always betrayed their masters'.[7] In terms of religion the peace seems to have changed little to the status quo. In 1650, Arnout van Geluwe published a conversion narrative that beautifully illustrates the continued antagonism between Northern Protestants and Southern Catholics. Van Geluwe had left his native Ardooie in Flanders in 1626 to discover the Republic. During his eighteen-year stay he became Reformed, but in his 1650 account he claimed he had gradually grown disillusioned with Calvinism. He therefore returned to the Southern Netherlands and became a fierce advocate of Catholicism. He condemned the hypocrisy of the Calvinist rejection of religious images, given the secular hero worship in the Republic. Van Geluwe argued that the heretics were not living up to their own standards and pointed to 'all the idols in Holland, that one sees everywhere'.[8] He mentioned the Old Church in Delft, where lieutenant-admiral Piet Hein—who had captured the Spanish treasure fleet in 1628—was buried in a monumental

7 Cited from Wouter Troost, 'Habsburg and Orange in 1700. Natural Allies?', in: Christoph Kampmann et al., eds., *Bourbon—Habsburg—Oranien. Konkurrierende Modelle im dynastischen Europa um 1700* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), p.255; original cited in: M. Mignet, *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne sous Louis* XIV *ou correspondances, mémoires, et actes diplomatiques concernant les prétensions et l'avénement de la maison de Bourbon au throne d'Espagne* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1842), 4 vols., vol. 4, p. 315: 'il le tenait toujours pour un traître, fils et petit-fils de traître, et descendu d'une famillie qui avait toujours trahi ses maîtres'.

8 Arnout van Geluwe, *Kort verhael van een achthien-jarighe Hollandtsche reyse, ghewandelt van eenen Vlaemschen boer* (Antwerp: weduwe van Ian Cnobbaert, 1650), p. 72: 'Al de af-goden in Hollant, / Die-men daer siet aen elcken kant'.

grave. One of the stained-glass windows in St Peter's Church in Leiden featured Pallas Athena, and in Rotterdam stood a statue of Erasmus. It made Van Geluwe wonder: 'are those the saints of the beggar church [?], How cruel then must be their heathens'[9] A prime example was 'the worst idol of Holland, [...] known very well by everyone, who lies pleasantly in Delft in the New Church. There everyone comes to do sacrifice'.[10] The 'idol' in question was, of course, William of Orange, whose lavish funerary monument attracted much popular interest.[11] Van Geluwe also gave other examples of princely hero worship. William of Orange was commemorated materially in various ways: 'people can see him hanging among Germans and Walloons, in their best bedchambers', which was meant as an insult because Germans and Walloons enjoyed a bad reputation as mercenary soldiers. The prince of Orange and his successors also featured on 'gold or silver medals, on tobacco boxes, on fire pans and fire pokers.'[12] Throughout his book, Van Geluwe disapproved of the heretical use of the recent past. In his discussion of heretical cruelty in the past he mentioned few specific instances from the history of the Revolt: 'I do not want to narrate all their horrible and murderous tyranny, which they exercised in Brill and Gorcum, Utrecht and more places; because one could make a separate and sizeable book on this topic alone'.[13]

Such a remark hardly surprises anymore. We have seen that evasiveness also characterised the way in which earlier generations of Southerners looked back to the rebellion. A deliberate search for chronologies of the Revolt outside formal historiography, however, can still yield interesting results. Almanacs, as handy sources of historical information, illustrate how Southerners could access the history of the Revolt in everyday life. Jeroen Salman has shown that almanacs were a popular ephemeral medium used for practical purposes: as a calendar, as an overview of market days, as a timetable for transport by road

9 Ibid., p. 73: 'Zijn dat de heyligen vande geusen kerck, / Hoe wreedt moeten zijn hun god'loosen'.

10 Ibid.: 'Den meesten af-godt van Hollant, / Die ick u hier sal beschrijven, / Is, aen elck een seer wel bekant, / Tot Delft inde nieuw Kerck playsant? / Daer doet elck voor'en offerhant'.

11 This interest is well-evidenced. See for example a painting by Dirck van Delen in 1645: 'Een familiegroep bij het praalgraf van prins Willem I in de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft', Rijksmuseum SK-A-2352; see also: Pollmer, 'Kirchenbilder', p. 291.

12 Van Geluwe, *Kort verhael*, p. 73: 'men siet hem by Duyts en Wals, / In hun beste slaepkamer hanghen.', 'goude oft silvere penninghen / op toeback dooskens / op vyer-pannen ende heerdt-ijsers.'

13 Ibid., p. 14: 'Ick en wil hier niet verhaelen al hun grouwelijcke ende moordaedighe tyrannie die sy in den Briel ende tot Gorkum / Uytrecht ende meer andere plaetsen bedreven hebben; want soude daer wel een groot particulier boeck af moeten maecken.'

or water, and also as a notebook and a diary.[14] From the end of the sixteenth century, publishers often added brief chronicles of historical events, starting with the origin of the world, the birth of Christ or beginning in later periods.[15] In the Dutch Republic these historical chronicles, insofar as they dealt with the history of the Revolt, had a clear anti-Spanish slant. The South Netherlandish chronicles, conversely, vilified heretical Northerners as can be exemplified by a chronology of the 'principal histories of the beginning of the world to the present year' attached to an almanac compiled by Johannes Willemsens and published in Ghent in 1661.[16] Multiple editions of the Ghent almanac contained lists of episodes, sorted by year, that the compiler considered noteworthy enough to include.[17] In the 1661 almanac, the period 1500 to 1566 was covered by eleven pages. Three pages were reserved for the early stages of the Revolt, i.e. the period 1566–1585. We see such chronologies in earlier almanacs as well.[18] Looking at the selection of events included, we can construct an interesting

14 Jeroen Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw. De almanak als lectuur en handelswaar* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999), pp. 165–179.

15 Ibid., pp. 180–181; in almanacs published in the Southern Netherlands these historical chronicles could take several forms, see for instance: *Chroniicxken ende cort verhael van de notabelste gheschiedenissen der Nederlanden zedert den Jaere 1500 tot desen teghenwoordighe Jaere toe* (Antwerp: Jacob Mesens, 1636), attached to: Ioos de Schepere, *Almanach van't schrickel-jaer* [. . .] *M.DC.XXXVI* [. . .] *gecalculeert op den meridiaen der vermaerde stadt van Gent* (Ghent: Gerlacus Graet, 1636); *Chronycke oft cort verhael vande principaelste gheschiedenissen die zedert Christi gheboorte voor ghevallen sijn, tot desen teghenwoordighen Iaere toe* (Ghent: Hendrick Saetreuver, 1700), attached to: Theodor Caesmes, *Almanach ofte oprechten Venetiaensche Hemel-meter* (Ghent: Hendrick Saetreuver, 1700). historical chronicles in Flemish almanacs also covered about non-Netherlandish topics such as the Ottoman Empire: *Chronycke historiael vervolghende de Tyrannien der Turcksche keysers, tot den teghenwoordigh Regerenden Mahomet den IV* (Ghent: hoirs van Jan vanden Kerchove, 1685), attached to: Julius de Beaupré, *Den onvervalschten Vlaemschen tydt-wyser, dat is een oprechte prognosticatie voor het jaer* [. . .] *M.DC.LXXXV.* [. . .] *ghecalculeert op den meridiaen van Ghendt* (Ghent: hoirs van Jan vanden Kerchove, 1685), f. e2r; more about the preserved almanacs in the University Library of Ghent, see: F. Vandenhole, *Inventaris van almanakken en kalenders* (Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, 1979).

16 Iohannes Willemsems, *Almanach ofte waer-zeggher, voor het Jaer ons Heeren Iesu Christi, M.DC.LXI.* (Ghent: Bauduijn Manilius, 1661), f. a1r: 'Chronycke ofte Cort verhael: van eenighe ghedenck-weerdighe gheschiedenissen van't beghinsel des wereldts, tot desen teghenwoordighen iaere toe'.

17 Salman, *Populair drukwerk*, pp. 17, 194–195.

18 Pieter Bleckemerie, *Almanach ende prognosticatie vanden schrickel-iaere M.DC.XXIIII* (Ghent: Jan vanden Steene, 1624).

picture of what the compiler in 1661 deemed to be essential knowledge about the history of the Revolt.

1566 [sic]. Duke of Alba came to Brussels.

1567. On the 9th of September. The counts of Egmont and Horne were imprisoned and brought to the Ghent citadel.

1586 [sic]. On the first of June, the duke of Alba had the barons of Batenborgh with another 15 nobles executed.

On the 5th of June, the counts of Egmont and Horne were decapitated in front of the Maison du Roi.

On the 8th of September, the lord Cornelis Janssens, first bishop of Ghent, made his entry.

1569. The 29th of August, Lady Anne of Austria, the emperor's daughter, was welcomed in Antwerp.

1570. The first of May, Lord Franciscus Zonnius, first bishop of Antwerp, made his entry.

1571. In England, the moneys the duke of Alba expected from Spain were intercepted.

1572. In February the duke of Alba demanded the Tenth Penny.

1573. On the 13th of April, the Battle on the Mookerheide took place.

1574. The king sent as governor Louis de Requesens to replace the duke of Alba.

1575. The Castle of Ghent was besieged by the States of the Lands.

1576. The great commander of Castile [Requesens] died in Brussels.

1578. On the 18th of January, Archduke Matthias took the oath in Brussels as governor of these Netherlands.

1579. On the 20th of June, soldiers of the king took the city of Maastricht by force.

1580. On the 6th of April there was a great earthquake throughout the land.

1583. On the 17th of January, the French took Antwerp through the Kipdorp gate, but they were chased away by the citizenry. 1500 died.

On the 14th of October, the soldiers of the prince of Parma took Sas van Gent.

On the last day of November, Aelst surrendered to the prince of Parma.

1584. On the 17th of September the city of Ghent reconciled with the prince of Parma.

1585 On the 1st of March, an agreement was reached between the prince of Parma and the city of Brussels.

> On the 17th of August, an agreement was reached between the prince of Parma and the city of Antwerp.[19]

As we can see, the compiler did not include the Iconoclastic Furies of 1566, nor did he cover the Spanish Fury in Antwerp in 1576 during which more inhabitants died than during the French Fury in 1583, which *is* included. This account of the troubled period 1566–85 emphasises dynastic events, with a mention of the visit by Anne of Austria (daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I) to Antwerp in 1569 and the entry of Archduke Matthias of Austria in 1578. In the coverage of the reconquered cities of Brussels and Antwerp in 1585, the author's references were euphemistic, suggesting that these were not Habsburg 'conquests' but voluntary reconciliations. This perspective is similar to that of earlier chronologies such as the one by Pieter Bleckemerie published in Ghent in 1624.[20] Although this chronology did include the Spanish Fury in Antwerp, again the selection of events mainly revolved around princely successions and

19 Willemsems, *Almanach*, s.p.: '1566. Quam Duc d'Alve tot Brussel. 1567. Den 9. September / werdt den Grave van Egmont ende van Hoorne gevanghen / ende naer Ghendt op het Casteel ghevoert. 1586 [sic]. Den eersten Junii / dede Duc d'Alve binnen Brussel onthalsen / de Barons van Batenborgh / met noch xv. Edelen tot hun. Op den v. Junii / zijn binnen Brussel / den Grave van Egmont ende van Horne / voor het Broodthuys onthalst. Den viii. Septemb. dede Heere Cornelis Janssens / eersten Bisschop van Ghendt zijn intrey. 1569. Den xxix. Augu. vrau Anna van Oostenrijck / Keysers Dochter wordt t'Antwerpen inghehaelt. 1570. Den eersten Mey / dede Heer Franciscus Zonnius / eersten Bisschop van Antwerpen zijn intrey. 1571. Werden in Enghelant ghearresteert de Penninghen / die Duc d'Alve uyt Spaignien wachtende. 1572. In Februar. eyschten Duc d'Alve den Thienden Penninck. 1573. Opden xiii. April / was den slach op Mokerhey. 1574. Heeft den Coninck ghesonden tot Gouverneur inde plaetse van Duc d'Alve / Lodewijck de Requentse. 1575. Wert het Casteel van Ghendt vande Staten vande Landen belegert. 1576. Is den grooten Commandeur binnen Brussel ghestorven. 1578. Den xviii. Januarii / dede den Aertshertogh Matthias binnen Brussel den eedt / als Gouverneur van dese Nederlanden. 1579. Den xx: Julii hebben s'Coninckx volck de Stadt van Maestrich stormender hant ingenomen. 1580. Den vi. April / wast groote Aert-bevinge het geheel Lant deur. 1583. Den xvii. Januarii / namen de Francoysen t'Antwerpen de kipdorp-poorte in / maer werden vande Borghers uyt-geslaghen / daer bleven doodt 1500. Den xiiii. Octobr. namen de soldaten vanden Prince van Parma / t'Sas van Ghendt in. Den lesten Novem. is Aelst aenden Prince van Parma overghegheven. 1584. Opden xvii. Sept. is de stadt van Ghendt met appointement veraccordert met den Prince van Parma. 1585. Den i. Meert / werdt d'accort ghesloten tusschen den Prince van Parma/ ende de Stadt van Brussel. Den xvii. Augu. / werdt d'accort ghesloten tusschen den Prince van Parma / ende de stadt van Antwerpen.'

20 Bleckemerie, *Almanach*.

successive governors. For the duke of Alba's governorship, the compiler of the 1624 almanac ignored the widespread opposition to the duke's repressive policies, which had been an important reason why the opposition to Philip II had grown into a full-scale revolt, and instead merely included the introduction of the Tenth Penny and the story of a woman in Antwerp with 'a goatee of two inches long'.[21] At the same time, having placed the Revolt in brackets, most compilers of almanac chronicles simply resumed the old practice of commemorating Habsburg victories; the author of the 1661 chronicle for instance mentioned Parma's conquests in the 1580s, but also episodes after 1585 such as the Habsburg triumph at the siege of Ostend in 1604.[22]

It is tempting to see the scarcity of references to the Revolt as proof that the conflict had disappeared from public memory, yet it may be more helpful to consider what parts of the rebellion did survive and why. Two examples can demonstrate that the history of the Revolt continued to be part of public discussions about contemporary issues in the South: the Joyous Entries of 1666 and the War of Devolution in 1667. I will pay particular attention to two possible explanations for the continued political relevance of the past rebellion: the absenteeism of Habsburg rulers and the French threats of Universal Monarchy.

Habsburg Absenteeism

At the beginning of 1666, the provinces of the Southern Netherlands inaugurated the four-year-old Charles II of Spain as their new overlord, who was in Spain at the time and absent from the civic ceremonies. The new king was represented by Francisco de Moura, marquess of Castel Rodrigo. In his manuscript chronicle, Joannes Jacquinet described the Brabant entry in Brussels on 24 February and observed a pageant of the former lords of the Netherlands, comparable to earlier joyous entries.[23] This 'theatre' was

> very pretty and grand, several paintings on which showed the ancestors of the young king of Spain, such as the duke Philip of Burgundy and of Brabant; his son Charles the Bold; the emperor Maximilian with his consort Mary of Burgundy; the king Philip the first of that name, as duke of Brabant with his consort; and the emperor Charles the Fifth. After that, the king Philip the Second, who gave these lands in marriage to the

21 Ibid., 'Nieuwe chroniicke oft verhael van alle de gedenckweerdichste saken die geschiet zijn / t'sedert den Jare 1500. tot desen tegenwoordigen Jare 1624', s.p.: 'eenen kossen Baert wel ii. duymen lanck.'

22 Willemsems, *Almanach*, ff. b1r–b3r.

23 Jacquinet, 'Historie der Nederlanden', KBR, MS 15938, f. 345r.

> archduke Albert and his daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia, and then to the late king Philip [IV] and his queen.[24]

In the name of the king, the marquess pledged to respect and guard the liberties and customs of Brabant. In article 46 he even promised not to accord any privileges to Flanders that might prejudice Brabant.[25] Yet, despite these emphases on dynastic respect for customs and traditions, in 1666 the new overlord of Brabant was not inaugurated in Leuven, the duchy's capital, which according to Jacquinet 'many burghers had preferred but did not happen'.[26] Instead, Charles II was inaugurated in the court capital Brussels.

Dislike of such breaches with tradition reminds us of the strong confederal character of the Habsburg Netherlands. Although unlike the Republic they were united by church and dynasty, like the Republic the Southern provinces enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. Attachment to their autonomy motivated authorities to take the representative of their overlord by the hand to explain to him how things were done in their city and province. The States of Flanders inaugurated the new prince on 2 May on the Vrijdagmarkt in Ghent in a ceremony drenched in historical symbolism. In St Peter's Abbey, the representative of Charles II pledged his first oath and before entering the church he walked past a triumphal arch that depicted a treaty between Louis I of Flanders and the abbot in 1332. With this treaty, Count Louis had pledged to uphold the privileges of the Abbey, and the reference in 1666 probably served to remind Charles that it would be in line with tradition to continue doing so.[27] Charles V was also given a central role in the proceedings. In a commemorative booklet published in the same year, the 'clerics and the four members of the ancient country and widely known province of Flanders' declared that the festivities

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24 Ibid., f. 345v,: 'Desen theater [. . .] was seer schoon ende groot, alwaer op in diversche schilderyen vertoont wierden de voor auders van den iongen koninck van Spaegnien, als den hertogh Phillips van Bourgoendien ende van Brabant, synen sone Charles Audax, den keyser Maximilianus met syne gemaelinne Maria de Bourgoendien, den coninck Phillippus, den iersten van dien naem, als hertoge van Brabant met syne gemaellinne en den keyser Carel den vyfden. Daer naer den koninck Phillippus den tweeden, die de Nederlanden ten hauwelyck gaf aenden aerts hetoghe Albertus ende syne dochter Isabella Clara Eugenia, en daer naer den overleden koninck Phillippus met syne koninginne.'

25 *Blyde incompste van syne majesteyt Carolus den II als Hertoch van Brabant* (Brussels, 1666), p. 14.

26 Jacquinet, 'Historie der Nederlanden', KBR, MS 15938, f. 345r: 'vele borgers hadden geirne gesien maer evenwel niet en is gebeurt'.

27 Lodewijk De Rycker, 'Eene Schilderij van 't Gentsch Museum', *Jaarboek van het Willemsfonds voor 1871* (Ghent: W. Rogghé, 1871), p. 114.

during the entry showed that 'with the death of the great and highly praiseworthy King Philip the Fourth, their loyal zeal for the house of Austria was not diminished, but that to the contrary it continued'.[28] In their account of the entry in Ghent, which was also published in French, they explained why the city hosted the principal entry in Flanders. The primary reason was obvious: Ghent was the province's capital. But the city was also a suitable place because it was

> honoured by the birth of the great and invincible Charles, fifth of that name in the empire, first in the monarchy, and third in the county of Flanders [...] from whose august blood descends in the direct lineage our Charles II.[29]

The author enumerated the different titles of Emperor Charles in this manner to emphasise the fact that he had not ruled Flanders as an emperor or a king, but as a count, thereby stressing the autonomy of the province. Charles II was clearly expected to follow this example.

Just as in Brussels, one pageant in particular captured the attention of contemporaries in Ghent. It effectively told the story of how Flanders had come into the possession of the house of Habsburg and how, ever since, successive Habsburg princes had ruled over this province. The pageant was staged on the Vrijdagmarkt and had seven arcades. In the central part of the pageant, Charles V was depicted

> with his motto *plus ultra*, pointing to the hope that people have, that our young monarch inherits not only his glorious name and states, but also

28 Anonymous, *Solemniteyten ende ceremonien, waer mede syne excellentie don Francisco de Movra y Cortereal* [...] *uyt den naem van* [...] *Carel den II. sal doen ende ontfanghen den ghewoonelijcken eedt vande provincie van Vlaenderen binnen de stede van Ghendt, op den 2. mey 1666* (Ghent: Maximiliaen Graet, 1666), f. a2r: 'D'Heeren Gheestelijcke ende vier Leden van 't out Graefschap ende wijt-beromde Provincie van Vlaenderen [...] bethoonen dat met het af-sterven van den Grooten ende Hoochloffelijcken Coninck Philips den IV. hunnen ghetrouwen yver tot het Huys van Oostenrijck niet af-ghestorven en was, maer ter contrarien dat den selven noch continueerden'.

29 Anonymous, *Relation des ceremonies et solemnitez des serments, faits & prétez par son Ex(ce) le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo Gouverneur General de ces provinces, aux Etats de celle de Flandre, et par lesdits Etats a Charles II, Roy d'Espagne et IV du nom comte Flandres* (Brussels: Guillaume Scheybels, 1666), p. 2: 'honorée de la naissance du Grand & Invincible Charles V du nom en l'Empire I en la Monarchie, & 3. en ce Comté de Flandres [...] de l'Auguste Sang duquel descend en droite ligne, nôtre Charles II'.

> his heroic virtues and that he shall augment the grandeur of the august house.[30]

The father of Charles V, Philip I, was depicted at the far right because he 'joined this county and the other provinces of these Low Countries to the kingdom of Spain by his marriage to Jeanne, daughter and heiress of the Catholic kings Ferdinand and Isabella'.[31] On the left stood Philip II. In front of this pageant, the pensionary of the city pledged the fidelity and obedience of the people of Flanders. The governor, in turn, promised to uphold the local privileges. According to the account, the people were exuberant: 'which evidently is testimony of the natural and ancient zeal and affection of the entire province, and of Ghent in particular.'[32] In his description of the bonfires the author wrote enthusiastically that the ardour and brightness of the fires in the city illustrated 'the perpetual zeal and affection towards their august sovereigns'.[33] The heralds on the Vrijdagmarkt wore tabards with the coat of arms of the Spanish king.[34] In the middle of the square stood a column erected in 1600 at the occasion of Albert and Isabella's Joyous Entry to honour the memory of Charles V. A large-scale painting of the scene by François Duchatel, finished in 1668, adorned the States Hall in Ghent's town hall.[35]

It was not without reason that inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant invoked the idealised image of a born-and-raised Netherlandish ruler who respected local privileges and who defended Christianity against infidels. The popularity of this nostalgic image in the second half of the seventeenth century betrays some of the concerns that local pro-Habsburg elites seem to have felt about the absence of their dynastic overlord. All the population's expressions of devotion towards the natural ruler and the various reenactments of the past during the Joyous Entries of 1666 could not disguise the fact that the natural lord was not present himself and that his governor was not even a Habsburg prince. The last Habsburg governor had been John II of Austria, whom Philip IV had called away in 1659 to lead the Spanish army in Portugal. Political historians of

30 Ibid., p. 7: 'avec sa devise, PLVS VLTRA, signifiant l'espoir que l'on a, que nostre jeune Monarque, heritier, non seulement de son glorieux Nom & de ses Etats, mais encor de ses heroïques vertus, augmentera la grandeur de l'Auguste Maison'.

31 Ibid.: 'qui joignit ce Comté & les autres Provinces de ces Païs-Bas au Royaume d'Espagne, par son marriage avec Ieanne, fille & heritiere des Roys Ferdinand & Isabelle'.

32 Ibid., p. 8: qu'il témoignoit évidemment le zele & affection naturelle & ancienne de toute la Province, & particulierement de la ville de Gand.'

33 Ibid., p. 9: 'du zele & affection perpetuelle envers ses Augustes Souverains'.

34 For the tabard, see: STAM Gent, inv. 904.

35 Anonymous, *Solemniteyten ende ceremonien*, f. a3v.

the period after 1648 have focused on the decline of Spanish influence in the Low Countries due to the Spanish king's increased concern for other parts of the Spanish Empire. Indeed, for the rest of the century after John II's departure none of the governors in the Southern Netherlands were Habsburgs, and from the death of Archduke Albert in 1621 up to 1781, when Joseph II came to the Low Countries, none of the Habsburg overlords ever visited the Low Countries. Bearing in mind that one of the most important Habsburg reconciliation strategies after the Revolt had been to always have a 'natural' governor of the Habsburg dynasty present in the Low Countries, this tradition had clearly been abandoned by 1666.

Still, in a virtual reality people kept alive the idea of having a natural lord physically present as we can see in the popular stories about the old emperor Charles V. These were often curious combinations of history and myth, such as the legend of the emperor and the farmer who needed to urinate. In 1540, on the day of St Matthew, Brussels celebrated the entry of the German king Ferdinand I. Emperor Charles V travelled from Ghent to Brussels to take part in the festivities in honour of his brother. In the evening, however, the imperial party was overtaken by the darkness and lost its way. Near the village of Berchem, Charles V asked a local former for directions. The farmer, oblivious of the emperor's identity, showed him the way. As the good man was a bit drunk and needed to urinate, he asked the emperor to hold his lantern. 'As he was leaking, he broke raging wind, on which the emperor, laughing, said that he farted, which the farmer did not deny, but said that such was his usual way, that together with peeing he also shat.'[36]

The story about the farmer is only one of many sometimes crude stories told about Charles V in the seventeenth century.[37] The stories portrayed Charles as a common man, fond of laughter and close to his people. Unlike his son and successor Philip II, against whose Spanish government the Revolt had erupted, Emperor Charles had often resided in the Low Countries. With his peripatetic and 'Burgundian' lifestyle, and his reputation for exuberance and good humour, he combined many regal virtues. Charles V came to symbolise

36 J. de Grieck, *De heerelycke ende vrolycke daeden van Keyser Karel den V*. (Brussels: Ludovicus de Wainne, 1674), pp. 81–82: 'ende nu besich met stroomen, ontvloogh hem eenen raesenden wind, waer op den Keijser, al lacchende seyde dat hy scheet, het geen den Boer niet ontkende, maer seyde sulcx sijn gewoonelycke manier van doen te wesen, dat met het pissen hy gemeenelyck kackten.'; see also Johan Verberckmoes, 'The Emperor and the Peasant. The Spanish Habsburgs in Low Countries' Jests', in: Werner Thomas and Bart de Groof, eds., *Rebelión y Resistencia en el Mundo Hispánico del Siglo XVII* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), pp. 67–78.

37 For a modern compendium, see: Harlinda Lox, *Van stropdragers en de pot van Olen. Verhalen over Keizer Karel* (Leuven: Davidsfonds/Literair, 1999).

the long-term dynastic continuity to which war-weary Southerners from elite as well as non-elite social backgrounds aspired.[38] Brussels printer and bookseller Joan de Grieck thought he could profit from the popularity of short stories about Charles V and compiled and published dozens of them in 1674 in his *The Majestic and Happy Deeds of Emperor Charles V* [*De heerelycke ende vrolycke daeden van Keyser Karel den V*].[39] 'Kind reader', he addressed his audience, 'Since numerous lovers of history have often asked me about the comical deeds of his imperial majesty Charles the V, for that purpose I found myself obliged to take up my pen, and collect all that I could retrieve of this Christian Achilles.'[40] This compilation consisted of stories that had already been circulating in a variety of media for over a century.[41]

However funny and entertaining for a seventeenth-century audience, the insertion of historical facts meant that some of these stories were also serious ways of communicating knowledge about the past and informing people about the dynasty.[42] One such story featured the emperor and his councillor the duke of Alba. Again, the scene is Ghent, 1540: the emperor came to strike down a great uprising. When Alba proposed to destroy the city as punishment, Charles replied with disdain: 'climb a high mountain, and look over Ghent, and then estimate, how many Spanish hands, [are necessary] for such a glove.'[43] The twist to this story was a pun: the French name for Ghent: *Gant*, is also French for glove. The story probably served in part as retrospective slander of the unloved Alba (who in 1540 was still relatively unknown in the Low Countries) and indeed ended: 'Alba was silent and was ashamed.'[44]

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38 Raymond Fagel, 'A Broken Portrait of the Emperor: Charles V in Holland and Belgium 1558–2000', in: C. Scott Dixon en Martina Fuchs, eds., *The Histories of Charles V. Nationale Perspektiven von Persönlichkeit und Herrschaft* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), pp. 67–68.

39 P.P. Schmidt, *Zeventiende-eeuwse kluchtboeken uit de Nederlanden* (Utrecht: HES, 1986), p. 124.

40 De Grieck, *De heerelycke ende vrolycke daeden*, f. a3r: 'Goet-gunstigen Leser, Alsoo my verscheyde Lief-hebbers der Historien dickwils gevraeght hadden naer de Kluchtighe Daeden van Syne Keyserlycke Majesteyt Carel den V. vondt ick my als ghedwonghen, tot dien eynde de Pen in d'handt te nemen, ende by een te versaemen alles wat ick van dien Christelycken Achilles kost achterhalen'.

41 Verberckmoes, *Schertsen, schimpen en* schateren, pp. 137–143; see also: Lox, *Van stropdragers en de pot van Olen*, pp. 162–163.

42 See for the early modern historicisation of legends: Judith Pollmann, 'Of Living Legends and Authentic Tales: How to Get Remembered in Early Modern Europe', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (2013), pp. 106–107.

43 Ibid, p. 101: 'climt op een hoogen Bergh, en siet Ghendt eens over, maeckt dan overslagh, hoe veel Spaensche handen, tot soo een Handt-schoen wel soude moeten zyn.'

44 Ibid., p. 101: 'Alba sweegh stil en was beschaemt.'

The manner in which authorities and authors such as De Grieck tried to keep up the appearance of dynastic continuity in the second half of the seventeenth century does not seem to be related directly to the Revolt itself. Emphases on continuity rather served to camouflage a political reality in which the Habsburg dynasty was an increasingly ineffective guarantor of the security of the Southern Netherlands vis-à-vis France. Were the representations of an unbroken succession of Habsburg rulers and the reign of the old emperor Charles V not simply traditional ways of organising inaugurations and of celebrating the Habsburg past? South Netherlandish elites seem to have preferred the relatively uninvolved attitude of their Habsburg overlord who respected the traditions of composite monarchy over a French king who would almost certainly violate their local privileges.[45] The absence of Habsburg rulers in the Low Countries was hence not such a bad thing. We do see that the cherished privileges motivated pro-Habsburg Southerners to recall the period before the Revolt and to ignore the rebellion. In this sense, the Revolt does not stand out as the topic of a lively memory culture. As a period when more than ever before local privileges were under threat, it stands out for not being mentioned at all.

Habsburg Rule versus French raison d'état

Yet, despite the oblivion strategies to cover up concerns about local privileges, the South Netherlandish public memory about the Revolt could also serve more positive functions. Propagandists used it, for instance, to frame the continuing threats of the French king. In 1667, Louis XIV invaded large parts of the Walloon provinces and also managed to capture some Flemish cities. This act of aggression violated the Peace of the Pyrenees of 1659, which had ended the Franco-Spanish War (1635–1659).[46] The French belligerence was worrying not only to Spain. In the Republic, too, there was concern for the fate of the Southern Netherlands and particularly for the French ambitions to universal monarchy. Especially in the course of the War of Devolution, as this war is known, several pamphleteers urged the Republic to aid the Southern neighbour.[47] The idea

45 For the Habsburg tradition of composite monarchy during the reign of Charles II of Spain, see: Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', pp. 65–67.

46 Charles-Edouard Levillain, *Vaincre Louis XIV. Angleterre—Hollande—France. Histoire d'une relation triangulaire, 1665–1668* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2010), pp. 135–141.

47 Anonymous, *Den Vlaamsen boer. Den Brugsen stedeling. En den Hollandschen vrager. Zijnde een t'zamenspraak tusschen drie personen* (Rotterdam: Joannes Naeranus, 1667; Anonymous, *T'samen-spraeck tusschen een Hollants-boer, een Brabants Kempens holblockdrager, een Franschman en een jesuwijt* (Bylevelt: Hans Mof (wed.), 1667); anonymous, *Conferentie tusschen een Brabander en Hollander, waer by ten lesten komt een Fransman over de constitutie van den tegenwoordigen tijdt* (s.l.: s.n., 1667).

was that having an ailing Spain as one's neighbour was preferable to sharing a border with the powerful king of France.[48] Some authors encouraged the Holy Roman Emperor to help out because the Spanish Netherlands belonged to the Burgundian Circle of the Empire.[49] Another good example of Northern interest in the Southern Netherlands is a pamphlet published in 1667 in which a Hollander and a Brabanter discussed the contemporary war. The Brabanter made overtures to the Hollander with references to the old concord among the Seventeen Provinces: 'O Belgica! how you are torn and violated'.[50] And when the Hollander asked the Brabanter what the French invasion has to do with someone from Holland, the Brabanter replied:

> if you were to hand over to the Frenchman all your towns in Brabant and in Flanders, then you would still find no peace and in due course you will be attacked. For Brabant is head and title bearer, and duke in the first degree above all other 16 Netherlandish Provinces.[51]

The Hollander was still not convinced that he should help, but he lamented the Southern misfortune by recalling his own war experiences:

> it is not strange to me, I still remember in my fearful time and worrisome days how my heart trembled, and how I lost my appetite when I saw Haarlem thus treated, Naarden violated and abused so terribly, Leiden besieged, Amersfoort taken, and how many other deadly troubles pressed my heart.[52]

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48 Robert Fruin, *De oorlog van 1672* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1992), p. 23.

49 See for example: anonymous, *Kort vertoogh van eenen vriendt aen den anderen, hoe dat niet alleen om de Nootsakelijckheyt van Justitie maer oock om redenen van Staet, het Roomsche Rijck en de Geunieerde Provincien, schuldig en gehouden zijn, de Spaensche Nederlanden te hulpe te komen, en van de Fransche Invasie ende Wapenen te redden* (Rotterdam: Jacob Nederwaart, 1667).

50 Anonymous, *Conferentie tusschen een Brabander en Hollander*, p. 13: 'Ô Belgica! hoe zijt ghy gescheurt / en gheschonden'.

51 Ibid., p. 15: 'ghy moeste die goetheydt hebben / dat ghy alle uwe plaetsen in Brabant / en in Vlaenderen / aen den Fransman over deedt / en dan noch en soudt ghy geene ruste vinden / en d'een ofte d'ander tijdt aangegrepen worden. Want Brabandt ist hooft / en eerste titul-voerder / ende Hertogh inde eerste graet boven alle d'andere 16 Nederlantsche Provintien'.

52 Ibid., p. 5: 'Het is niet vremt / het gedenckt my noch wel / in mijnen ancxstigen tijdt / en bekommerlicke dagen / hoe my het herte trilde / ende hoe kleyn my den appetijt was om te nuttigen / doen ick Haerlem soo sagh getracteerd / Naerden gevioleert en soo

In the Habsburg Netherlands, however, signs of public unrest resulting from the invasion were fragmented and confined to local disturbances.[53] The few responses that do rise above local concerns were related to the French king's interpretation of the law of devolution. To legitimate his acts of aggression Louis XIV relied on the *Ius Devolutionis*, or law of devolution, which was still valid in parts of Flanders and Brabant.[54] This ancient common law laid down, as a contemporary pamphleteer recounted, that 'the children by the first marriage go away with the whole inheritance of their father, the children of the same father, by a second marriage, being excluded.'[55] This suited Louis XIV well because on 9 June 1660, as part of the Peace of the Pyrenees, he had married the only surviving child of Philip IV of Spain's first marriage to Elisabeth of France: Infanta Maria Theresa. Louis argued that this gave him precedence over Philip IV's successor Charles II, who was born from the Spanish king's second marriage to Archduchess Mariana of Austria. Louis therefore claimed dominion over the lands in which the law of devolution was valid.[56] However, there were some difficulties to be overcome. In a marriage settlement with the Spanish crown, the French king had previously agreed that his wife Maria Theresa would give up her place in the succession of Spain to prevent a merger of the two crowns. Louis XIV got round this obstacle by relying on the proviso that the pre-nuptial agreement would come into effect only once the Infanta's dowry was paid by the Spanish king. That had not happened yet, and it was unlikely that Spain was going to come forward with the money any time soon.

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schrickelijck mishandelt / Leyden belegert / Amersfoort ingenomen / en hoe menichte andere doodelijcke zwarigheyt my het herte druckte.'

53 For example protests in Brussels against French troups being billeted on people's houses: Karin van Honacker, *Lokaal verzet en oproer in de 17de en 18de eeuw. Collectieve acties tegen het centraal gezag in Brussel, Antwerpen en Leuven* (Heulen: U.G.A., 1994), p. 369.

54 P.J.W. van Malssen, *Louis XIV d'après les pamphlets répandus en Hollande* (Amsterdam: Paris, 1936), p. 14; Isaac Laurillard, *Het devolutie-regt in het hertogdom Brabant* (Leiden: Hazenberg, 1855), pp. 4–5.

55 P. Dalicourt, *A relation of the French kings late expedition into the Spanish-Netherlands in the years 1667 and 1668 with an introduction discoursing his title thereunto, and an account of the peace between the two crowns, made the second of May, 1668* (London: John Starkey, 1669), ff. a3v–a4r.

56 Antoine Bilain, *Dialogue sur les droits de la Reyne tres-chrestienne* (Paris: s.n., 1667); see also: Louis XIV, *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin*, edited by Paul Sonnino (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 148.

Historian Paul Sonnino rightly calls the French king's use of the law of devolution a mere pretext.[57] Similar criticism from contemporaries did not bother Louis XIV 'blessed as he was with a plentiful capacity for self-delusion.'[58] The French army of twenty-five thousand men, commanded by Louis XIV himself, met with little resistance and successively captured cities in the Southern part of the Habsburg Netherlands, such as Lille, Douai, Courtrai, and Charleroi, after which it further pierced through Flanders. A pro-French chronicler of the invasion, Pierre Dalicourt, described the campaign in the Low Countries and compared the smooth capture of the Flemish city of Oudenaarde with an earlier siege in 1582. The proud author wrote that the French conquest 'took very few men, and we took in fewer then four and twenty hours a place that Strada makes a great noise of in his history of the Low Countries, and magnifies the duke of Parma exceedingly for having conquered it in two moneths [sic].'[59]

Although halted between Ghent and Brussels during the abortive siege of Dendermonde, the French aggression imperilled the future of Habsburg rule in the Southern Netherlands. The regime ordered inhabitants to offer resistance to the French invaders.[60] This seems to have had effect. The South Netherlandish chronicler Jacquinet from Tienen recorded that

> the French king, hearing that the Brabanters were much resolved to bravely defend themselves and remain loyal to their young duke Charles of Brabant [Charles II], as those of Leuven always did, in previous times of which the memory is still fresh, i.e. of the last siege of the States Army with the French, anno 1635, [...] changed his mind of invading Brabant, thinking that it would cost blood and people.[61]

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57 Some historians evaluate Louis XIV's claim more positively. Charles-Édouard Levillain considers it, for instance, 'a strong legal case': Charles-Edouard Levillain, 'The Intellectual Origins of the Anglo-Dutch Alliance', Séminaire de recherché sur les îles Britanniques, XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles, 20 June 2011, http://britaix17-18.univ-provence.fr/texte-seance5.php, p. 4.

58 Paul Sonnino, *Louis XIV and the Origins of the Dutch War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 9; Rowen, *John de Witt*, pp. 481–483.

59 Dalicourt, *A relation of the French kings late expedition* (1669), p. 76.

60 *Don Francisco de Moura ende Cortereal, Marck-grave van Castelrodrigo, van den Raede van Staete van Sijne Maiesteyt, Stadt-houder, Gouverneur, ende Capiteyn Generael vande Nederlanden, ende van Bourgundien, & c. Hebbende Vranckryck tegehenwoordelijck vercondight* ... (Ghent: Weduwe ende Hoirs van Ian vanden Kerchove, 1667), s.p.

61 Jacquinet, 'Historie der Nederlanden', KBR, MS 15938, ff. 348v–349r: 'Den Fransen koninck hoorende dat de Brabanders seer wel geresolveert waren om hun vromelyck te verweren ende hunnen iongen hartoghe Carolus van Brabant getrauw te blyven, gelyck die van

French aggression was clearly not a new experience for inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands. Unlike most of the provinces in the Dutch Republic, Holland especially, the local population of the South had for the duration of the Revolt and the conflicts with France experienced battles, sieges and massacres on its soil. And after the Peace of Westphalia the end of war was not in sight. During the Franco-Spanish War, in 1658 France coordinated a successful attack on the Flemish town of Dunkirk. R.A. Stradling has convincingly argued that the loss of Dunkirk made it more difficult for the Habsburg dynasty to resist the rise of France from the Netherlands and that it further exposed the Southern Netherlands to the whims of its neighbours.[62] Spain began to realise it could no longer be relied upon to defend the Southern Netherlands and that diplomacy was to be the key in preserving the Low Countries. In turn, it made people in the Southern Netherlands realise what help they might expect from Spain: not much.[63]

Still, the ongoing experience of war and the bad prospects for the future did not foster strong anti-Habsburg sentiments in the South. Robert Muchembled has shown that local elites attached importance to Counter-Reformation ideology, local privileges and opposition to undesirable foreign influences, which explains persistent loyalty to the Habsburg cause in the second half of the seventeenth century.[64] Aversion to Dutch Calvinism and Gallican Catholicism further boosted Southern people's preference to be ruled by a Habsburg overlord.[65] These considerations coexisted with, and softened, concerns about Philip IV and Charles II's inability to defend their Low Countries. The continued loyalty to the house of Habsburg can explain the efforts of South Netherlandish authors to oppose the French king's claim to dominion over the Spanish Netherlands. For them—Habsburg officials and other supporters of the regime—it was not very difficult to contest the French king's legal justification. Lawyer and 'keeper of old memorials of Brabant'[66] Pierre Stockmans,

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Loven altyts gedaen hebbende, in voor leden tyden waer van dat de memorie noch versch is vande leste belegeringe van't Staten volck met de Fransen, anno 1635, et., soe heeft den Fransen koninck Lodewyck syn voor nemen verandert van in Brabant inte vallen, wel denckende dat het bloet ende volck [349r] saude moeten kosten.'

62 R.A. Stradling, *Europe and the Decline of Spain: A Study of the Spanish System, 1580–1720* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 145.

63 Herman Coppens, 'Het overheidsbeleid,' in: Paul Janssens, ed., *België in de 17de eeuw* (Gent: Snoeck, 2006), p. 198.

64 Robert Muchembled, 'Koningstrouw', in: Paul Janssens, ed., *België in de 17de eeuw* (Gent: Snoeck, 2006), p. 185.

65 Ibid., p. 188.

66 'Bewaerder der Oude Geheug-schriften van Braband'.

privy councillor of Brabant, demonstrated that devolution had never been common practice in the Habsburg successions.[67] When Philip II ceded the Low Countries to his daughter Isabella, for example, he took no notice of any restrictions the law of devolution might impose upon him. Stockmans added, however, that Louis XIV's arguments were actually 'superfluous,' since 'it is apparent that with regard to public successions, neither in Brabant, Limburg and Gelderland, Namur, nor in any other province or domain of the Catholic King is this law of devolution valid.'[68]

Habsburg diplomat François Paul de Lisola also criticised Louis XIV's reading of the law of devolution. He opposed the French justification for annexing the Southern Netherlands and made efforts to organise a coalition against Louis XIV's ambitions of universal monarchy. He was one of the diplomats who achieved the alliance between the Dutch Republic and Austria, a coalition Spain at a later stage would also join. Apart from his diplomatic activities, Lisola was an influential pamphleteer. In 1667, he wrote *The Buckler of State and Justice*, originally published in Brussels.[69] It aimed to refute a tract written by the jurist Antoine Bilain in support of Louis XIV's claims.[70] Six editions of Lisola's publication appeared, and the text was part of many libraries including those of John Locke and John Evelyn.[71] Lisola's main argument against the claims of the French monarchy was that the law of devolution had nothing to

67 Stockmans was apparently a kind of expert on the law of devolution. In the year of the French invasion he published *Tractatus de jure devolutionis* (Brussels: Franciscus Foppens, 1667).

68 Pierre Stockmans, *Deductie, waar uyt met klare ende bondige bewijs-redenen getoont en beweesen wordt, datter geen recht van devolutie is, in het hertogdom van Brabandt* (Amsterdam: Jacob Vinckel, 1667), p. 11: 'Maer dese dingen welke van de Devolutie ende van de derogatie des selfde geseyt worden, zijn ten overvloet by gebracht, nadien het kennelijk is dat ten regarde van publijke successie, niet alleen in Brabandt, Limburg, Gelderlant, Namen, noch ook in gene andere Provintie, ofte Dominie van den Catholijcken Koning dit Recht van Devolutie kracht heeft, gelijk genoeg bekent is aan alle menschen die in publijke saken ervaren zijn.'

69 The original French edition is François Paul de Lisola, Bouclier d'estat et de justice, contre le dessein [...] de la monarchie universelle, sous le vain pretexte des pretentions de la reyne de France (Brussels: Franciscus Foppens, 1667); I cite here from the English edition for purposes of readability: François Paul de Lisola, *The buckler of state and justice against the design manifestly discovered of the universal monarchy, under the vain pretext of the Queen of France, her pretensions* (London: James Flesher for Richard Royston, 1667).

70 Antoine Bilain, *Samenspraak over de rechten der aller-christelijkste koningin van Vrankryk* (1667), Knuttel 9536.

71 Levillain, 'The Intellectual Origins of the Anglo-Dutch Alliance', p. 4; The text was read by Sir Samuel Pepys who thought 'the whole body of the book very good and solid':

do with the laws of succession in Brabant and Flanders. According to him, 'it was never heard of in the empire that any sovereign fief should be regulated by the local customs'.[72] One of his supporting arguments relied on the Pragmatic Sanction of 1549, the 'indivisible union' enacted by Charles V.[73] Since the union of all Seventeen Provinces was to be passed to the next generations undivided, there could be no occasion to allow different rules of succession in the fiefs. But this is what would happen if the succession in Brabant and Flanders were regulated by devolution. After all, as Lisola explained, 'it might fall out that the daughters of the first bed should carry away a part of them [the provinces] by the devolution, and the males of the second marriage by the law of the countrey should possess the other.'[74] That was not what Charles V had intended, Lisola claimed. The Infanta Maria Theresa's sex was also an issue. The 1549 Pragmatic Sanction legislated that daughters could succeed only in the absence of male heirs. Since there was a male heir from Philip IV's second marriage, Charles II, Maria Theresa's claim was invalid.[75]

Legal precedent confirmed that local laws and customs in particular fiefs, in this case in Brabant and Flanders, could not influence the line of succession. Citing the Southern antiquarian Christophe Butkens, Lisola mentioned Godfrey III of Leuven, duke of Brabant (1142–1190) who had married twice, first to Margaret of Limburg and later to Imagina of Loon. Despite the fact that a son, Henry, was born from the first marriage, children from the second marriage also inherited some property. Henry became the next duke of Brabant, but a son of Imagina, William, 'had for his share the lands of Perweys, Ruysbroeck, and others; which Godfrey could not have done if the devolution had taken place.'[76]

The rhetoric used by Louis XIV's adversaries relied not only on legal precedent but also on political arguments. The French king, they argued, had no right to claim dominion over the Low Countries, but, more importantly, Louis XIV would not be a good overlord of the Low Countries. This view implied that the Southern population had Charles II as their sovereign not only because he had the right to rule but also by choice. Historical references to the Revolt could support this thought. Lisola, for instance, listed commendable characteristics

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Sir Samuel Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys M. A., F. R. S.* 7 edited by Henry B. Wheatly (London: George Bell & Sons, 1896), 10 February 1667/68, p. 314.

72 Lisola, *The buckler*, p. 213.

73 Ibid., p. 196.

74 Ibid., p. 198.

75 Ibid., p. 206.

76 Ibid., pp. 216–217.

of Spanish 'great princes' as opposed to the French 'conquerours'.[77] One of the maxims to which the kings of Spain had adhered since time immemorial was 'to prefer religion always before reason of state; which is directly contrary to the rule of conquerours, who do dexterously make use of all sorts of sects to compass their own ends.' Here, Lisola put religion into the equation, by arguing that whereas the Spanish kings had of old been religious rulers, Louis XIV was an opportunistic monarch with loose Catholic morals and no real concern for the salvation of his people. Conversely, when faced with the sixteenth-century religious turmoil in the Netherlands, Charles V (as a Spanish monarch) felt compelled to go to war.[78] And his son Philip II 'had no inclination at all to arms, nor ever took them up but for his defence, or out of necessitie to humble those who fomented rebellions within his kingdomes.'

Another maxim was the selflessness of the Spanish monarchy, of which 'the glorious reigns of Charles the Vth and Philip the IId' were prime examples. 'We find that in all the actions of those two great monarchs,' Lisola wrote, 'they never applied any one of their conquests to their own particular benefit, except what did belong to them by just successions.'[79] Again, the Habsburg selflessness and devotion to the Southerners' cause was juxtaposed to the opportunism and religious desolation of the French. These two maxims: putting religion before 'reason of state' and being a selfless monarch were embodied *par excellence* in Emperor Charles V. The past emperor 'espoused with the empire all the quarrels of religion and of state which the conjuncture of those times had stirred in that great body, which did take up, in favour of others, the most part of his care and forces.'[80] Here the author touched upon the religious turmoil in Europe in the sixteenth century and lauded Charles V, and also his son Philip II, for protecting Catholicism rather than only pursuing their temporal interests.

Pro-Habsburg propagandists thus juxtaposed discussions of the legitimacy of the French king's claims with emphases on the good governance of former Spanish sovereigns. Faith in the Habsburg dynasty did, however, not quite yield the desired results. The war ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668). France was allowed to keep twelve cities, including Lille where Pierre Chavatte, mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, had to get used to the fact that he was no longer a subject of a Habsburg overlord but of a Bourbon king of France. A Southern pamphleteer was not convinced by the peace, claiming

77 Ibid., p. 284.
78 Ibid., p. 282.
79 Ibid., p. 279.
80 Ibid., p. 281.

that the 'unforeseen' French aggression was entirely 'against what was promised' in the earlier Treaty of the Pyrenees of 1659. Yet, the French, he claimed, did not care about the illegitimacy of their military venture and, accordingly, felt no scruples about invading the land and engaging in cruelties such as 'destruction, fire, murder, pillaging, and violation'.[81]

The French aggression in the Habsburg Netherlands and later also in the Dutch Republic motivated the Spanish king and the United Provinces in 1673 to sign the Treaty of The Hague, which was the first sign of an alliance between the two former antagonists. With France as the new enemy, did it become easier to forget the enmnity between the Republic and the Habsburgs in the South? Although politically there was a rapprochement, we might expect that there were problems too. In the South elites must have experienced feelings of political discomfort as their overlord was seeking an understanding with heretics. Volker Jarren has shown, for instance, that the Emperor Leopold I felt troubled by the idea of negotiating with people he still considered heretical rebels, yet ultimately conceded that it was a necessary response to the rise of France.[82] Southern elites seem to have shared Leopold's attitude to the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg alliance with the Dutch. In the international political context it was the lesser of two evils.

History as a Trap in the Dutch Republic, 1650–72

On 10 June 1648, Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, the Portugese ambassador in The Hague, wrote to Philip IV that

> the peace was proclaimed here simply by reading the articles of the Treaty in the Supreme Court of Justice at ten o'clock on the morning of the fifth of this month—that day and hour being chosen because on that day and at that time eighty years ago the counts of Egmont and Hoorn had been executed by the duke of Alba in Brussels; and the Estates wished their

81 Anonymous, *Fransman, Vlaminck, over de vertrouwtheydt van den vrede, nu onlancx opgerecht tusschen de croonen Vranckrijck en Spangien* (s.l.: s.n., 1668), Knuttel 9638, p. 11.

82 Volker Jarren, 'Die Vereinigte Niederlande und das Haus Österreich 1648–1748: Fremtbildwahrnehmung und politischen Handeln kaiserlicher Gesandter und Minister', in: Helmut Gabel and Volker Jarren, eds., *Kaufleute und Fürsten. Außenpolitiek und politisch-kulturelle Perzeption im Spiegel niederländisch-deutscher Beziehungen 1648–1748* (Münster: Waxmann, 1998), pp. 172–188.

> freedom to begin at the same day and time as those two gentlemen had died in defence thereof.[83]

C.R. Boxer has shown that it is unclear whether the symbolism was intentional or not, but the Portugese ambassador believed it to be so.[84]

Although there came to be a political rapprochement in the period after 1648, Dutch enmity towards the Habsburgs did not simply vanish. The historical references that had functioned to justify this enmity could be picked up whenever the need arose.[85] As we have seen, for instance, the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621) had been opposed by an anti-peace lobby, and similarly opponents of peace with Spain continued to voice their bellicosity after 1648. At such moments, old arguments could easily be recycled. In 1653, for instance, printer Jan Pietersz in Haarlem brought out a new edition of an old pamphlet: *Useful Comments on the Spanish Council* [*Dienstige aenmerkingen op den Spaensen raedt*].[86] It contained the advice allegedly given to the Spanish king Philip II at the end of the sixteenth century by three learned men, Justus Lipsius, Erycius Puteanus and Friar Campanella. According to the story, they had urged Philip to negotiate a peace with the rebels so that the Dutch could be lulled to sleep. The king would subsequently need only to mount a surprise attack to bring the disobedient provinces back under his rule.[87] A 'true patriot' argued in the preface of the 1653-edition that the war should be resumed and

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83 C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1965), p. 1; Boxer cited and translated the published letter from Edgar Prestage and P.M. Laranjo Coelho, eds., *Correspondência diplomática de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho durante a sua embaixada em Holanda* (Lisbon: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1955), 3 vols, vol. 3, p. 13: 'Chegados os 6 do mez, ás 10 horas se publicou a paz, sem mais outra ceremonia que lerem-se os capitulos della no tribunal suprema da justiça, e escolheu-se o dia e hora porque nelle e nella forão degolados em Bruxellas pelo Duque de Alva os Condes de Hemont e Horne, e quizerão os Estados que começasse a sua liberdade no mesmo dia e hora que por defença della morrerão aquelles dous senhores.' With thanks to Alastair Duke for kindly giving me the reference.

84 Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire,* p. 2.

85 Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 258–259.

86 Anonymous, *Dienstige aenmerkingen op den Spaensen raedt, eertijds door Justus Lipsius* [. . .] *gegeven aende koninck van Spaengien, hoe men de Vereenichde Nederlanden alderbest wederom onder zijn gebiedt soude konnen brenghen* (Haarlem: s.n., 1653), Knuttel 7451; this pamphlet is an edition of a text published in 1617: Anonymous, *Spaenschen raedt, hoemen de vereenichde Nederlanden alderbest wederom sal konnen brenghen onder't ghebiedt van den koninck van Spagnien* (s.l.: s.n., 1617), Knuttel 2458.

87 Nicolette Mout, 'Justus Lipsius Between War and Peace: His Public Letter on Spanish Foreign Policy and the Respective Merits of War, Peace or Truce (1595)', in: Judith

tried to convince his readers by refreshing the public memory of Spanish untrustworthiness. Yet, he admitted that not even those of 'the smallest intellect' needed to be reminded of all the obstacles that had led to the foundation of the Republic, indicating the lively memory culture about the Revolt, especially among old people for whom 'there is not a sweeter pastime [...] than when they may speak about the old times'.[88]

The *Useful Comments* illustrate how, after 1648, the war against Spain remained an important narrative frame for government authorities and interest groups in the Dutch Republic when dealing with contemporary political issues. Literary scholar Marijke Meijer Drees has observed two changes in the way Dutch people after 1648 looked back on the Revolt. Firstly, the Black Legend, which was a widespread frame of reference for voicing anti-Spanish sentiments from the late sixteenth century onwards, acquired alternative functions. Whereas it originated as a form of war propaganda aimed at 'othering' the enemy, this tactic ceased to be of any real political interest. Instead, the Black Legend was redeployed as a means to strengthen the view of Hollanders as a freedom-loving people, regardless of the identity of the enemy threatening their liberty. This allowed propagandists, for instance, to substitute France for Spain as the object of vilification. Secondly, the ever-changing balance of power in Europe mitigated the hostility towards Spain. As France and England increasingly contested the Dutch Republic's commercial hegemony on the world seas, Spain stopped being the prime target for defamation.[89]

The Revolt, however, remained a politically potent episode in public memory. Historians Pieter Geyl, G.O. van de Klashorst, and Jill Stern have shown that supporters of the house of Orange extensively evoked Prince William I of Orange's role in the conflict.[90] Yet, Stern demonstrates that from the moment

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Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 142–143.

88 Anonymous, *Dienstige aenmerkingen*, pp. 4–5: 'aldergeringhsten van verstandt'; 'Daer is geen soeter liefkoserie voor oude luyden / als datse van den ouden tijdt moghen spreecken'.

89 Meijer Drees, 'De beeldvorming', p. 169.

90 Pieter Geyl, 'Het stadhouderschap in de partijliteratuur onder De Witt', in: Pieter Geyl, ed., *Pennestrijd over Staat en Historie* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1971, chapter first published 1947), pp. 3–71; G.O. van de Klashorst, ' "Metten schijn van monarchie getempert". De verdediging van het stadhouderschap in de partijliteratuur, 1650–1686', in: H.W. Blom and I.W. Wildenberg, eds., *Pieter de la Court in zijn tijd (1618–1685). Aspecten van een veelzijdig publicist* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1986); Jill Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image, 1650–1675* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 160–165.

the prince's great-grandson William III was barred from the stadholderate during the First Stadholderless Period (1650–1672), the new anti-Orangist order had 'to pass judgement on the practices of the old regime [...]. The "canon" of accepted truths about the national past was changed in order to reflect and emphasise new political realities'.[91] What she means here is that it was not enough for the States Party to oppose the house of Orange through the spread of intellectual theories of government, such as the Republican writings of the De la Court brothers and Johannes Uytenhage de Mist who dismissed rule by a single head.[92] According to Stern, the public memory of the house of Orange's role in the Revolt made it difficult to deny the dynasty what many considered to be its rightful place in Dutch politics. The opponents of the house of Orange and members of what historians call the States Party (also known as supporters of 'True Freedom') hence needed to reinterpret the past rebellion against the Habsburg overlord in their attempts to marginalise the young prince of Orange, William III, and his supporters.[93]

But spreading an anti-Orangist reading of the past could be quite a challenge. Looking back on the continued references to the past during the disorders and troubles at the time of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654), which was lost by the Republic, diplomat and historian Lieuwe van Aitzema explained how clergymen especially had deliberately propagated the dominant Orangist reading of the past. He wrote that Orangist propagandists had felt it was necessary

> for reason of state, on the chair, during meals, in barges, and on carts to tell, yes for children to learn at their mother's knee, that a hundred thousand were killed for the sake of religion, that the duke of Alba had prided himself on killing eighteen thousand [...] And the history of one hundred thousand, and of eighteen thousand put often on the stage served to move the people to endurance and perseverance. It would well-nigh be idolatry, should one not believe it.[94]

91 Stern, *Orangism*, p. 157.

92 Ibid., pp. 25–26.

93 Ibid., pp. 157–160; Gees van der Plaat calls this reinterpretation of the past an 'anti-Orange myth': Gees van der Plaat, *Eendracht als opdracht. Lieuwe van Aitzema's bijdrage aan het publieke debat in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), pp. 164–165; for an overview of the term 'party' in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, see: D.J. Roorda, *Partij en factie. De oproeren van 1672 in de steden van Holland en Zeeland, een krachtmeting tussen partijen en facties* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1978), pp. 1–10.

94 Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saken van Staet, In, ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden, Beginnende met het Jaer 1645, ende eyndigende met het Jaer 1656* (The Hague: Johan Veely,

Stern focused on Orangist rhetoric and has not asked why authors who sympathised with the States Party felt obliged to relate their political ideology to the existing popular historical narratives about the conflict. These were, after all, tainted by Orangist associations and, furthermore, opponents of the Orange dynasty already had a wide repertoire of alternative ways to argue why the Republic did not need the house of Orange. Holland's medieval history, the Batavian Myth and the republican ideal of aristocratic government all suggested Dutch people disliked over-ambitious princely rulers, and that they were historically capable of resisting a foreign tyrant without an Orange prince as stadholder. Anti-Orangist propagandists frequently deployed such alternative frames of reference.[95]

This section will explore, first, why despite the pro-Orange character of the historical canon of the Revolt, members of the States Party nonetheless used references to the Revolt in support of their political arguments, and, secondly, how they solved the problems they encountered in doing so.[96] Two cases will be examined in detail: the aftermath of William II's attack on Amsterdam (1650–1651) and the political controversy surrounding the Exclusion Act of 1654. We will see that, just as in the Habsburg Netherlands, dominant narratives about the past could be redeployed for new political purposes.

The Great Assembly of 1651

The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 concluded the Eighty Years' War. While Spain was no longer an enemy, the peace occasioned an internal disagreement about

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Johan Tongerloo and Jasper Doll, 1669), p. 1234: 'om reden van Staet / op den Stoel / op maeltijden / in Schuyten / en op Wagens te segghen / ja de kinderen met haer pap in te geven dat hondert duysent waren om het geloove omgebracht / dat Duc d'Alba alleen sich hadde geroemt van achtien duysent. […] Ende de historie van hondert duysent, ende achtien duysent menighmael op het Toneel ghebracht / heeft ghedient om de gemeente te bewegen tot lijdtsaemheydt ende stantvastigheyt. Ende 't soude bykans een afgoderye zijn / soo men 't niet gelooft.'; see also: Van der Plaat, *Eendracht*, p. 73.

95 For the use of Holland's medieval past by supporters of True Freedom, see for instance: Pieter de la Court, *Interest van Holland, ofte gronden van Hollands-Welvaren* (Amsterdam: Joan Cyprianus vander Gracht, 1662), ff. 6v–7r, pp. 188–206; see also Johannes Uytenhage de Mist, *Æsopus defensor sig erbarmende over de diepe sugten van den klagenden veen-boer* (The Hague: Jan Speckhals, 1662); Johannes Uytenhage de Mist, *Apologie ofte verantwoordiginge van den ondienst der stadthouderlyke regeeringe* (Amsterdam: J.C. van der Gragt, 1663).

96 Parts of this section have also been published in Jasper van der Steen, 'The Trap of History: The States Party and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1650–1660', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29:2 (2013), pp. 189–205.

the dismissal of troops: now that the war was over, many Holland regents urged a reduction of troops to relieve the tax burden. The other provinces and the stadholder Prince William II were less keen on Holland's plan, fearing its implementation might weaken the Republic. The prince and his supporters believed that the Dutch profited from war because having a common enemy had brought and kept the country together.[97] The example of the Twelve Years' Truce, when confessional struggles had brought the country to the verge of civil war, was still fresh in the public memory.[98] In arguing their case, opponents of Holland's desire for the dismissal of troops turned to the most important constitutional document of the Republic, the Union of Utrecht (1579), which established that military matters fell under the authority of the Generality and not of individual provinces.[99] Holland could thus not simply discharge the military regiments on its own. According to Holland, however, this interpretation of the Union of Utrecht was acceptable only in war time, whereas now that the war was over, it was reasonable to doubt the Union's constitutional status. Since there was no central financial administration in the Republic and individual provinces were responsible for paying the troops allocated to them ('apportionment'), the States of Holland could decide unilaterally to suspend the payments to their regiments, which it did.[100] In reaction to this measure, and citing his oath to uphold the Union, Prince William II captured six members of the States of Holland who sympathised with the States Party and tried to take by force the most powerful engine behind Holland's opposition to the prince: the city of Amsterdam. The attack failed as a number of companies lost their way. A courier from Hamburg had seen the troops and notified Amsterdam's magistrate of the imminent arrival of a large army. The city subsequently locked its gates and could no longer be taken by surprise. A few months after the failed attack, the prince died unexpectedly.[101] Although William II's only son was born eight days after his father's death, Holland and the other provinces decided to leave the stadholderly office vacant and not to

97 William II also considered war as an important source of prestige, see: Rowen, *The Princes of Orange*, pp. 79–83.

98 Stern, *Orangism,* pp. 165–176.

99 Van Aitzema, *Saken van Staet* [. . .] *Beginnende met het Jaer 1645, ende eyndigende met het Jaer 1656*, p. 445.

100 More about 'apportionment' or 'repartitie', see: Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, pp. 190–191; Rowen, *The Princes of Orange*, p. 84.

101 For the prince's actions in 1650, see: G.W. Kernkamp, *Prins Willem II, 1626–1650* (Rotterdam: Donker, 1977, first published 1943), pp. 97–146.

appoint the young William III, or any other member of the Orange dynasty, as their new stadholder.[102]

William's sudden death prompted the States General to convene the Great Assembly of 1651 to find a durable solution for the dismissal of troops and other disagreements about the Union.[103] Representatives from all provinces of the Republic attended the assembly, which was held in the Great Hall of the Inner Court ('Binnenhof') in The Hague. Grand Pensionary Jacob Cats opened the first meeting in January 1651. In a speech that was later published, Cats thanked God 'that this solemn assembly could be held in a place where formerly [in 1581] the king of Spain was abjured, his yoke thrown off, and the grounds laid for the liberty of these lands.'[104] It is not inconceivable that the grand pensionary looked up when he continued: 'where the trophies and the marks of the victory granted from time to time by the merciful God to this state, are hanging above everyone's head.'[105] (Figure 14).

To Holland's satisfaction, the Great Assembly confirmed the sovereignty of the provinces. Yet it did not solve the continuing tensions between provincial autonomy and the delegation of authority to the Union. Already well before the assembly began, supporters of True Freedom and Orangist propagandists were engaged in a media war.[106] In their political arguments in the 'present', both parties claimed to act in the spirit of the past Revolt against the Spanish king. The well-known anti-Orangist pamphlet *Holland Talk* [*Hollants praatjen*], published shortly after William's II's attack, considered the actions of the prince as an unacceptable break with the moral legacy of the Revolt.

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102 Friesland employed a different stadholder, William Frederick of Nassau, a cousin of William II. He remained in office in this province, and after William II's death also became stadholder of Groningen and Drenthe.

103 The interest in the Union of Utrecht around 1650 is evidenced by the fact that at least seven editions of the tract were printed that year alone: Frijhoff and Spies, *1650. Hard-won unity*, p. 77.

104 Jacob Cats, *Anvanck vande Groote Vergaderinge der Vereenichde Nederlanden* (Leiden: M. Sebastiaenszen, 1651), Knuttel 7029, f. 2r: 'dat dese solemnele Vergaderinge mach werden gehouden in eene plaetse / daer eertijts den Koninck van Spaignen is af gesworen / syn Jock verworpen / en de Gronden vande Vryheyt deser Landen zyn geleyt'.

105 Ibid.: 'Daer de Trophëen ende Zegel-teeckenen / vande Victorien by den goedertieren Godt aen desen Staet van tijt tot tijt genadelijck verleent, over yders hooft [...] zyn swevende'.

106 Several historians have studied this media war, including many of the texts covered by this chapter. See: Van der Plaat, *Eendracht als opdracht*, pp. 143–173; Dingemanse, *Rap van tong*, pp. 99–179; Stern, *Orangism*, pp. 84–105; Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke* opinie, pp. 91–127; Vroomen, 'Taal van de Republiek', pp. 119–163.

FIGURE 14 *Bartholomeus van Bassen, The Great Hall of the Inner Court (‘Binnenhof’) in The Hague during the Great Assembly of the States General of 1651 (c. 1651), Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-C-1350.*

The author for example suggests that William II treated the cities of Holland ‘as if they were cities of the king of Spain’.[107] In the pamphlet, four men from Gelderland, Holland, Friesland and Brabant discussed the prince’s recent coup. Holland decried William II for ‘doing everything to the city [Amsterdam], that

107 Anonymous, *Hollants praatjen, tusschen vier personen* […] *aangaande de souverainiteyt van syn hoogheyt* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1650), f. a2r: ‘als of het de Steden van den Koning van Spangien waren’; The author claims he had the text printed in Antwerp in the Southern Netherlands to evade censorship or public censure, but as Clazina Dingemans has shown, this claim was probably a rhetorical trick to show that the supporters of the prince violated the freedoms of the land so that the author had to turn to Antwerp in the Habsburg Netherlands to express his opinions: Dingemanse, *Rap van tong*, pp. 162–163.

an enemy would be able to do'.[108] In response to the Gelderlander's accusation that Holland had acted unconstitutionally in the matter of military demobilisation, the Hollander explained that 'The seven provinces are united, or connected to each other, but it is not a single body, only in matters of war'. He cited the first article of the Union (which, as he points out, gave the Republic its name of 'United Provinces'—in the plural) to point out that the provinces remained separate polities.[109] Since the war was over and the basis for such collaboration had vanished, Holland had every right to act as it did and was justified even within the confines of the Union.

In response to the Gelderlander's question whether the prince's attack on Amsterdam should really be taken so seriously, the Hollander replied: 'Yes, it is of such great significance, that the old lord prince of Orange [...] his highness' grandfather, judged that the duke of Anjou, then duke of Brabant, for that reason forfeited his dukedom.'[110] Here the Hollander referred to the high-handed attempt of Francis, duke of Anjou, who had been appointed as sovereign by the rebels in 1581 but was given so little power that he became frustrated and tried to seize Antwerp in 1583. As a result, the States General revoked their recognition of the duke as their sovereign. By invoking this historical example, the author of *Holland Talk* showed that it was not impossible to appropriate the public memory of William I while criticising his grandson William II. To further emphasise that William II had acted even worse than Anjou, the Hollander argued that 'here there is no sovereign, but a stadholder; here there is no parliament that is called by the sovereign and, when he pleases, dissolved. Here there are States, who stand in their own right, and who acknowledge no one as a higher lord.'[111] Although Anjou had acted reprehensibly, at least he had done so as a sovereign. William II was merely a stadholder, which meant his conduct was unconstitutional. A similar argument can be found in the *Right Second Part of the Holland Talk* [*Het rechte tweede deel, van't Hollands praatje*], in which a Brabanter claimed that William II surpassed even the duke of Alba

108 Anonymous, *Hollants praatjen*, f. a2r: 'Hy heeft alles aen de Stadt gedaen / wat een vyand soude konnnen doen.'

109 Ibid., f. a4r: 'De seven Provintien zijn wel geunieert / of t'samen verbonden / maer 't en is geen een lichaem / dan in't stuck van d'oorloge [...] Men noemtse Seven vereenigde Landen, of Provincien'.

110 Ibid., f. a2v: 'Ja/ daer is so veel aengelegen / dat de Ouden Heere Prince van Oraignien, hooghloff. gedach. Sijn Hoogheyts Groot-vader, oordeelde / dat den Hertog van Alençon, doe Hertog van Brabant / om die oorsaeck / was vervallen van zijn recht van't Hertogdom'.

111 Ibid., f. a3r: 'hier is geen Souverain, maar een Stadhouder; hier is geen Parlement dat van een Souverain geroepen wert / en / als't hem belieft / weder moet scheyden. Maer hier sijn Staten, die uyt haer selven bestaen / en die / boven haer / niemant en kennen.'

in wickedness. The Gelderlander was shocked by this statement: 'I don't know how the gentleman from Brabant can substantiate that [claim], that the prince could be compared to the duke of Alba, the cruelest tyrant of the world'. The Brabanter subsequently explained that Alba acted on the orders of his natural lord, Philip II, while William II counteracted the orders of his, the States of Holland.[112]

The clergyman Jacobus Stermont in The Hague reacted to the *Holland Talk* by writing *Laurel Wreath, Wreathed for His Highness, William* [*Lauweren-krans gevlochten voor syn hoocheyt, Wilhelm*].[113] Stermont also wrote his text as a dialogue, but he chose for his protagonists two Hollanders, one from Leiden and one from Amsterdam. The Leidener complains about the slanderous accounts of William II that were being spread by booksellers around the country. His interlocutor replies: 'That is a sign of the country's freedom, and Holland's good nature, to have such a government that allows every man to freely make known his feelings to the world: why not also pertaining the prince?'[114] The man from Leiden disagrees and points to William's illustrious descent from forefathers, who 'have been, besides God, the scourge of Spain, the gate to our freedom, the trestle of our state, the pride of our friends, and the terror of all our enemies'.[115]

The published fictional dialogues between Dutch people from all corners of the Republic demonstrate that authors sought to increase the persuasiveness of their argument by presenting speakers with diverging opinions and then having the author's opinion prevail.[116] Another good example is the anti-Orangist *The Hague Shoptalk* [*Haagsch vvinkel-praatje*], published after the death of William II and at the time of the Great Assembly. Four men (a Hollander, a Zeelander, a Frisian and a Groninger) gather in a bookshop in The

112 Anonoymous, *Het rechte tweede deel, van't Hollands praatje, verdedigende het recht van de* [...] *Staten van Hollandt en West-Vrieslandt* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1650), p. 6: 'Ick weet niet waer dien Brabandschen Heer dat vast soude maken / dat den Prince in vergelijckinge soude komen met Ducq d'Alf, den wreedsten Tyran van de Werelt'.

113 Jacobus Stermont, *Lauweren-krans gevlochten voor syn hoocheyt, Wilhelm* [...]. *Over sijne eeuwig roembaere handelinge, gepleegt tot ruste deser Vereenigde Lantschappen, in't jaer 1650* (s.l.: s.n., 1650), Knuttel 6851.

114 Ibid., a2r: 'Dits een teken van 'tLands Vryheyt, ende de Hollantse goedt-aerdigheyt, sulck een Regeeringe te hebben daer inne het aen ieder mensch vry-staet sijn gevoelen de werelt bekent te maken: ende waerom oock niet vande Prins?'.

115 Ibid., ff. a2r–v: 'wiens Hoogloffelijcke Voor-ouders sijn geweest, naest Godt, den Geessel van Spanjen, de poort onser Vryheyt, de Schraeg onser Staet, den Trots van alle onse vrienden, ende een schrik voor alle onse Vianden'.

116 Dingemanse, *Rap van tong*, pp. 130–139.

Hague and discuss the political situation. The Groninger has just entered and asks for news, specifically for tidings from France or England. The Hollander answers that they were not talking about England or France but about 'the great changes, now for a year or a bit more time occurred in these United Provinces'.[117] He thanks God for the positive turn events had taken—William II died at the end of 1650—and says 'I cannot see that for the duration that we were at war with the king of Spain we had ever so great a victory as now a year ago'.[118] The Hollander considers the death of Prince William to be the best thing that had ever happened to the Republic. The Groninger does not quite understand this celebration of the prince's death and proposes to discuss the matter further.[119] After the unsuccessful attack on Amsterdam, the prince and the States had reached an agreement about disbanding the troops. Was it not a bit cruel to celebrate William's death as a triumph? The Hollander explains that just before his death, the prince was as bellicose as ever. His death may have been tragic, but ultimately it benefitted the country.[120]

To prove his point, the Hollander offers a brief history lesson in which he gives a new spin to existing narratives about the Revolt. He refers to the sixteenth-century past to show that from the greatest evil good things could arise. The Hollander recalls a series of events, beginning with the religious persecutions under Philip II. These persecutions violated local privileges, but the positive result was public discontent. Discontent in the 1560s was the prelude to the grand-scale Revolt, which ultimately gave rise to the freedom that people enjoyed 'now'. The next episode in the story of the Hollander was the governorship of the duke of Alba at the end of the 1560s and beginning of the 1570s. The frequent references to his oppressive tribunal, the Council of Troubles, in a variety of media show that by 1650 the duke was still an example capable of evoking strong associations with injustice. But although Alba was perceived as wicked, his regime had strengthened the rebels in their convictions and had motivated them to continue fighting. Then the Hollander arrives at the famous capture of Den Briel by the rebels in 1572. When 'the queen of England denied

117 Anonymous, *Haagsch vvinkel-praatje, oft Gesprek, voor-gevallen in den Hage, tusschen vier personen* […] *nopende de amnestie, dank, en vier-dag* (Leeuwarden: Claude Fonteyne, 1651), Knuttel 7039, p. 3: 'de groote veranderingen / nu in een jaar / of wat meer tijds / in dese Vereenigde Provincien voor-ghevallen'.

118 Ibid., p. 4: 'dat ik niet en kan sien dat wy soo lang / als wy met den Koning van Spaignien in oorloog hebben geweest / oyt soo grooten zegen en victorie gehad hebben / als nu een jaar herwaerts'.

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid., pp. 4–5.

entry to the Water Beggars (as people called them), since she had peace with the king of Spain; this seemed a very evil sign, but it was the beginning of our deliverance, as the new beggars [...] not knowing where to harbour, came in Den Briel.'[121] The capture of Den Briel was the first rebel take-over of a city, and it was followed by other cities siding with the rebels.

The Hollander continues to enumerate canonical episodes of the history of the Revolt, such as the atrocities committed by Spanish soldiers in Rotterdam (1572), Zutphen (1572), Naarden (1572) and Haarlem (1573). In most narratives, authors used these episodes as evidence of the cruel nature of Spanish rulers and to justify the war against Spain.[122] The Hollander looks at the situation from a more positive perspective. When they were besieged in 1573–4, inhabitants of the cities of Alkmaar and Leiden knew about the cruelties committed in other towns and were so horrified by them that they refused to surrender and were willing to fight until the very end. This proved to be the best strategy, and both cities fought off the Spanish army. The Hollander ends with the murder of William of Orange by Balthasar Gérard in 1584: 'Then everyone thought the land was lost; but it was a great blessing for the land'.[123] In 1584, the States of Holland had intended to make the prince count of Holland 'as a result of which we would have changed lord, but not condition, as we would not have been better off with Orange than with Spain: so his death brings us more good, than evil'.[124]

The Exclusion of 1654

States Party propagandists apparently considered it useful to refer to the Revolt in their political texts, even though this required a constant and sometimes laborious reinterpretation of the dominant historical canon. To further illustrate the difficulty of using references to the Revolt while casting off the dominant Orangist interpretation of the past, it is worthwhile to look at the Exclusion Act, a secret agreement between Stadholderless Holland and Commonwealth

121 Ibid., p. 15: When 'de Koninginne van Engeland de Water-geusen (soo men die noemde) haer land ontseyd / alsoo sy met den Koning van Spaignien vrede had; 't welk een seer quaat teyken scheen te zijn / en 't was 't begin van onse verlossing / alsoo die nieuwe geusen [...] niet wetende waer sy souden havenen / in den Briel quamen'.

122 See for instance the history of the Revolt *Spieghel der Ievght* (1614) which was republished throughout the seventeenth century: Cilleßen, 'Der Spiegel der jeugd', pp. 60–62.

123 Anonymous, *Haagsch vvinkel-praatje*, p. 15: 'Doe meende elk dat het Land verlooren was; en het was een groote zegen voor 't Land'.

124 Ibid., p. 15: 'daer door wy wel van Heer souden verandert hebben / maer niet van Conditie / alsoo wy geen beter souden gehad hebben aen Oraignien, als aan Spaignien: soo dat die dood ons meer goed / als quaat dede.'

England that was part of the treaty that ended the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654): the Treaty of Westminster. In signing the Exclusion Act, Holland succumbed to pressures from England's protector Oliver Cromwell and promised never to appoint the son of William II as stadholder. Cromwell's demand was informed by the fact that the young prince of Orange was a nephew of the exiled king Charles II. Should this William III become stadholder of the powerful province of Holland, he might eventually help restore his uncle as king of England. Holland had signed the secret clause without consulting the States General, thereby angering Orangists at home and in other provinces of the Republic.[125] The States of Friesland, for instance, complained at the States General about this act which they felt slighted the descendant of 'the lord prince William the Elder [...] whose bones are in Delft beneath a tomb erected in his honour and in his eternal memory by the State itself.'[126] By mentioning a physical reminder of William of Orange, namely his tomb, the States of Friesland sought to convince the delegates in the States General of the gratitude that was owed to the Orange dynasty. Excluding the extant prince of Orange from public office was, they felt, the worst kind of ingratitude.

Most Orangist publications of the period centred their arguments on the debt of gratitude owed to the Orange dynasty.[127] To give one other example: during the Exclusion controversy in 1654, rhetorician Johannes Beuken wrote a poem in honour of the house of Orange-Nassau and dedicated it to the government of the city of Leiden. In his dedication he wrote: 'What Netherlander is not most highly obliged to the serene house of Nassau? That house to which, apart from God, we owe our freedom'.[128] By successfully fighting off the Spanish king from 1566 onwards, the rebels (led by Orange) had laid the first stone of a new state: the Dutch Republic. After exhorting his readers to praise the house of Orange, Beuken gave a poetic account of important sieges, battles and other events from the beginning of the Revolt in 1566 to the Peace of Westphalia in

125 Guido de Bruin, 'Political Pamphleteering and Public Opinion', in: Femke Deen et al., eds., *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 81.

126 Cited in Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Historie of Verhael van Saken van staet en Oorlogh, in, ende ontrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden, beginnende met 't uytgaen vanden Treves* (The Hague: Johan Vely, 1663), p. 110: 'Wiens Beenderen noch by ons tot Delft, onder een Graft t'sijner eeren, ende tot een eeuwige Memorie bij den Staet self gedaen'.

127 See also Van de Klashorst, ' "Metten schijn" ', p. 100; Stern, *Orangism*, pp. 68–74, 160–161.

128 Beuken published his poem in 1668: Johannes Beuken, 'Orangiens en Nassouwse Louwerkrans', in: *Rijmen, verdeeld in Drie Boekken, als 1. minne-dichten. 2. veelderley. 3. Bybel-werk* (Leiden: Maerten van Leeuwen, 1668), f. l1r: 'wat Nederlanders is niet ten hoogsten verplicht aan dat doorluchtige Huys van Nassouw? dat Huys aan wien wy (naast God) onse Vryheyd schuldig zijn'.

1648, and beyond. The author claimed that what had happened during the war against Spain was 'known to virtually all'. Yet, he advised 'who does not know, [to] read Emanuel van Meteren and other memoirists'.[129] Furthermore, for the readers who were less familiar with the historical narrative, Beuken clarified names and dates in explanatory footnotes.

Due to the widespread criticism of the Exclusion, notably from Zeeland and Friesland, Holland's grand pensionary Johan de Witt wrote a defence of this measure: the *Deduction*. The English ambassador in The Hague observed that the text was 'as big as half the bible' and although this was an exaggeration, it took the grand pensionary five hours to deliver his *Deduction* on 6 August 1654 in the assembly of the States General.[130] In it, De Witt argued that political power should not be a birthright and that the monarchical presence of the princes of Orange as stadholders was incompatible with the state's republican constitution. These were fundamental principles, yet De Witt used historical precedents, especially the Revolt, to argue at greater length why Holland was justified in denying the young Prince William III the right to succeed as stadholder. He posed the rhetorical question: 'in people's remembrance or the memory of histories, has not the most important matter that has occurred in these Netherlands taught us that such a negative resolution and engagement is sometimes necessary?'[131] The 'negative resolution' De Witt referred to was the States of Holland's decision in April 1581 to abjure the king, Philip II of Spain, a decision that the States General had adopted in their Oath of Abjuration a few months later. By likening the Abjuration of 1581 to the Exclusion of 1654, De Witt reinterpreted a canonical episode in the history of the Revolt and cleverly disentangled the abjuration of Philip II from the Orangist associations the event had acquired over time. The references to the Revolt in the *Deduction*, as well as the fact that the tract was publicly recited in the highest political assembly of the Republic, demonstrate that De Witt recognised the political

129 Ibid., f. l9r: 'is yder by na bekend. Die het niet en weet, lese Emanuel van Métre en andre Gedenk-Schrijvers'.

130 *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* II, edited by Thomas Birch (London: Thomas Woodward, 1742), p. 497; Rowen, *John de Witt*, p. 235.

131 Johan de Witt, *Deductie, ofte declaratie van de Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt* [...] *tot justificatie van't verleenen van seeckere acte van seclusie, raeckende 't employ vanden heere prince van Oraigne* [...] *op den vierden mey 1654 ghepasseert* (The Hague: Hillebrandt Jacobsz van Wouw, 1654), p. 14: 'heeft niet de alderimporteniste saecke die / by de Menschen memorie / ofte geheuchenisse van historiën / in dese Nederlanden voorgevallen is ons gheleert dat soodanige negatieve resolutie ende verbintenissen somwijlen nootsaeckelijk is?'

potency and canonical status of narratives about the past rebellion against Philip II.

The Union of Utrecht (1579) was an object of contested interpretations because of its constitutional importance. De Witt and the States of Holland argued that the Union had established the sovereignty of each of the confederated provinces, whereas the other provinces claimed that by accepting the Act of Exclusion, Holland had exceeded the Union's constitutional bounds. De Witt also used less constitutionally relevant references to the Revolt to show that Holland's acquiescence in the Exclusion was lawful. He asserted, for instance, that it was not the Exclusion Act that had caused disunity within the Republic—as some provinces claimed—but that 'the Netherlands were foremost brought in a state of discord by the heads', i.e. princes.[132] De Witt drew on the sixteenth-century past to substantiate this assertion. He briefly touched upon 'the old histories and chronicles', which 'nowadays still show us with fright in what ways our ancestors have lived under the dukes, counts, bishops, and lords in continuous dissension and disagreement'.[133] Evoking the public memory of Burgundian and Habsburg rulers, with particular attention to the persecution of heretics by Emperor Charles V and King Philip II, the author arrived at 'those times, which are actually applicable to these': the period of the 1580s when according to De Witt all domestic troubles were caused not by the many threats of war but by the Dutch princely rulers themselves.[134] The Anjou debacle, mentioned above, was an episode supporters of True Freedom referred to in order to prove that in the past it had always been ambitious rulers who jeopardised the peace of the land. Similarly, after Anjou, the States had appointed Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, as governor, and he, too, had refused to settle for the power conferred on him by the States General, instead aiming to centralise his authority at the expense of local privileges.[135]

Inasmuch as the misgovernance of over-ambitious princely rulers could torment a country, De Witt explained, the death of such a ruler could be a great cause for relief. Just as William II's death had been a blessing in disguise, the death of William of Orange should not be seen as a tragedy. In 1584, the States of Holland had intended to grant Prince William I the sovereignty of the

132 Ibid., p. 59: 'dat de Nederlanden meest in oneenigheyt zijn ghebracht door de Hoofden'.

133 Ibid., pp. 61–62: 'De oude Historien / ende Chronijcquen doen ons noch huyden 's daechs met verschrickinghe sien in wat voeghen ons Voor-ouderen onder Hertoghen / Graven / Bisschoppen / ende Heeren/ niet alleen in continuele dissentien / ende oneenicheden hebben geleeft'.

134 Ibid., p. 62: 'die tijden / die in desen eyghentlijck zijn applicabel'.

135 Ibid., p. 63.

province. But while they were drafting this proposal, Balthasar Gérard assassinated the prince. De Witt exhorted his audience: 'look, a dishonourable and godless murderer was conceived who, being bribed by the enemies of the land, took the life of that glorious prince'.[136] The grand pensionary condemned the murder but added that despite the fact that the country was robbed of its leader, 'God Almighty has nonetheless created light from such deep darkness, and not only kept the state standing, but also preserved its inhabitants, and guarded them from the new subjection they were already being rushed into.'[137] Here, De Witt implied that Orange would have become a tyrant after his inauguration as count of Holland. He also attributed the success of the Revolt to divine intervention in order to downplay the role that Orangists ascribed to William of Orange.

Finally, De Witt argued that William of Orange's descendants Maurice, Frederick Henry and William II were 'honoured as if they had been lawful princes of the land'.[138] Considering that, formally, in the Dutch Republic they had never been more than stadholders, the princes of Orange claimed more respect than they were entitled to. He addressed 'the sensitive reproof and emotional reproach of ingratitude, and underestimation of the house of Orange aforesaid' and rejected the argument that gratitude towards William III and his forefathers was incompatible with the Exclusion.[139] He probably used the words 'sensitive' and 'emotional' in acknowledgement of the emotions that the past could stir up. For this reason indeed it seems De Witt felt compelled to add the disclaimer that although Maurice, Frederick Henry and William II deserved to be criticised, the States of Holland 'nevertheless have to confess that the lord prince William the Elder, great-grandfather of the present prince of Orange, deserves to be considered differently'.[140] He challenged the States of Friesland's accusation of ingratitude and inquired after its conduct at the time of William I's death. In 1584, the Frisian States had refused to employ

136 Ibid., p. 50: 'Siet / daer werdt een eer- ende Godtloos Moordenaer verweckt die / van 's Landts Vyanden omgekocht wesende / dien glorieusen Prince het leven berooft'.

137 Ibid.: 'soo heeft nochtans Godt Almachtich uyt soo dicke duysternisse een helder licht gheschept / ende niet alleenlijck den Staedt genadichlijck ende wonderbaerlijck staende ghehouden / maer oock d'Ingesetenen van dien ghepreserveert / ende behoedt voor de nieuwe subjectie daer inne de selve albereyts genoechsaem waren geprecipiteert.'

138 Ibid., p. 73: 'ghe-eert / even als of sy wettighe Princen van den Lande waren gheweest'.

139 Ibid., p. 71: 'het sensibel verwijt / ende de ghevoelijke reproche van ondanckbaerheydt / ende mescognaissance teghens 'tgemelte Huys van Oraigne'.

140 Ibid., p. 74: 'Soo moeten haer Ed: Groot Mo: nochtans bekennen dat / ten regarde dat den Heere Prince Willem d'oude / over-Groot-Vader van den jegenwoordigen Prince van Oraigne / andere consideratie zijn vallende.'

the prince's son Maurice as stadholder, instead granting the stadholderate to William of Orange's nephew, William Louis. De Witt jeered: 'where, at that time, were those who now write and go on so much about due gratitude?'[141]

The *Deduction* is only one example of the States Party's frequent use of references to the Revolt and of the strategies they employed to disconnect narratives about the conflict from pro-Orange associations. In many other publications, adherents of True Freedom made similar efforts.[142] Discussions like these did not by themselves change the course of history; political arguments and rhetoric reflected but also influenced 'real' actions that made a lasting impact on society. A remark of the English secretary of state John Thurloe, illustrates the importance of the political context for the success of having one's own interpretation of events accepted by others. He observed in 1654, just after the publication of Johan de Witt's *Deduction*, that:

> There are some, who do prognosticate to Holland some harm from this apology; as in like manner in the year 1617, when [Olden]Barnevelt published his apology, exposing himself at that time to the assaults and insulting pens of so many famous writers, who writ against him. But the States of Holland have supporters, which Barneveldt had not; for Barneveldt and the States of Holland were not masters of the militia, as the States of Holland are at present. Secondly, those of Holland are and will be back'd and assisted by England.[143]

Past experience had taught the Dutch that criticising a prince of Orange could be risky. However, the political context had changed radically since 1617: the relatively powerful stadholderate in the period 1617–50 had been replaced by the stadholderless regime examined in this chapter. By the 1650s it had become less dangerous to criticise the Orange dynasty in the present and trivialise its achievements in the past.

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141 Ibid.: 'Waer waren als doen die gene die nu soo veel van schuldige danckbaerheydt schrijven ende vrijven?'

142 See for example the following succinct booklets: anonymous, *Zeeuwze ratel, geroert tusschen dry persoonen, een Hollander, Zeeuvv en Hagenaar, over het uitsluiten en deporteren van een stadhouder en generaal* (Middelburg: Philippus van Esch, 1654), Knuttel 7564; anonymous, *Noodig bericht aan alle oprechte patriotten* [...] *nopende, dat den prince van Oranjen, noch de grave van Nassouw* [...] *geen oorsaak zijn tot ons aller behoudenis* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1654), Knuttel 7567; anonymous, *Wederlegginge vande valsche verkeerde rekeninge en kalculatie, onlangs in druck uytgekomen, aengaende de pretense-onkosten die gedaen souden wesen by Willem de I* (s.l.: s.n., 1655), Knuttel 7662.

143 *A collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* II, edited by Birch, p. 496.

Even so, despite these political changes, the dominant Orangist narrative about the Revolt proved remarkably resilient and became even stronger as William III grew older and supporters of the house of Orange became more outspoken in their propaganda. In 1669, Orangist playwright Arent Roggeveen published a play about William of Orange's role in the Revolt. Addressing the prince's great-grandson, William III, he explained that:

> Surveyors begin from an indivisible dot or point, which needs to be understood rationally rather than shown empirically [...] such has been (serene prince) your great-grandfather William first prince of Orange: a dot hardly visible in the eyes of Spanish pride and yet the foundation on which the Netherlandish freedom [...] has been built.[144]

Already in 1662, Pieter de la Court noted the continued difficulties facing supporters of True Freedom in their efforts to circumvent the Orangist frame of history.[145] An adherent of the States Party, he wrote the preface to an edition of the history of the Dutch Revolt by Viglius van Aytta (1507–1577). Viglius had been a member of the Council of State, an important councillor to Philip II of Spain when the Revolt broke out, and an outspoken critic of the leader of the Revolt, William I of Orange. Prince William and his supporters, De la Court alleged, ultimately won the war and this meant:

> that in narrating the history of the troubles, our historiographers as subjects of the princes, put on the stage their brave deeds and exaggerated them, concealing in the meantime, and trivialising as much as possible, their vices and follies.[146]

144 Arent Roggeveen, *'tNederlantsche treur-spel, synde de verkrachte Belgica* (Middelburg: Pieter van Goetthem, 1669), f. ***2r: 'Meeters nemen haer beginsel van een ondeelbaer stip of punt, 't welck meer met het verstant moet begrepen dan het Tuygh-werck lijck kan getoont worden [...] Alsoo is (doorluchtighe Vorst) u out Groot-Vader Wilhelmus eerste Prince van Oraengien geweest, een punt nauliks sichtbaer inde oogen vande Spaensche hovaerdie; enwas nochtans de fondamenta waer door de Nederlantscher vryheyt hooghloffelijcker memory is op-gebout'.

145 Stern, *Orangism*, p. 159.

146 Pieter de la Court, 'Voor-reden' to Viglius van Aytta, 'Grondig berigt van 't Nederlands oproer zo onder de hertogin van Parma, als den hertog van Alba. Beschreven in 't François', in: Pieter de la Court, ed., *Historie der gravelike regering in Holland* (s.l.: s.n., 1662), p. 209: 'dat Onse Historie-Schrijvers als onderdaanen der selver, in het verhaalen der gemelde Troubelen, alle de kloeke daaden der Princen op het tooneel bragten, ende die booven

The same could be said, *mutatis mutandis*, for the Habsburg Netherlands. De la Court argued that South Netherlandish historians were driven by motives similar to those affecting their Northern colleagues, and that 'in describing the troubles, [they] trivialise the vices and follies of the king of Spain, in order to be able to blame the troubles on the Netherlandish nobles, and particularly on the princes of Orange.'[147] De la Court attributed Prince William's heroic reputation in the Republic not so much to his exceptional skill and courage as to the outcome of the war: the separation between the Northern and Southern Netherlands. Interestingly, De la Court toned down William of Orange's glorious war record by presenting the prince's heroic reputation as simply the result of political and military circumstances outside his control. Without risking accusation of a lack of patriotism, De la Court could thus justify the stadholderless political system that he envisaged.[148]

Although De la Court's perspective appears distinctly modern to readers in the twenty-first century, his relativist approach to the past would probably not have appealed to the average early modern inhabitant of the Republic. De Witt's practical usage of the past demonstrates this. Every time anti-Orangist political activists like him deployed the Revolt in support of their agenda, they felt compelled to address the Orangist slant of most historical narratives about the conflict. The canon about the Revolt had clearly become a central part of Dutch culture that political propagandists could not simply ignore.

Conclusion

What happened to canonical narratives in the Northern and Southern Netherlands after the Peace of Westphalia ended the Eighty Years' War? The long-term perspective enables us to see that changing political contexts did not automatically mean that the Revolt gradually lost its political potency. Even in peace time the conflict remained a significant frame of reference, although in the South less so than in the Republic. Still, Habsburg government officials—both local magistrates and bureaucrats in Brussels—used the past

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de waarheid vergrooteden, verswijgende onderentusschen ofte verkleinende soo veel doenelik, der selven ondeugden ende dwaasheden.'

147 Ibid., pp. 209–210: 'in het beschrijven der gemelde Troublen [...] de ondeugden ende dwaasheden der Koningen van Hispanien verwijgen ofte verkleinen, om alle den schuld der zelve Troublen, ten laste de Nederlandse Heeren, en bysonderlijk op de Princen van Oranjen te konnen leggen'.

148 See also Geyl, 'Het stadhouderschap', p. 12.

rebellion as an important example in their political arguments. These elites tended to favour *laissez-faire* Habsburg rule above French or Dutch domination. Interestingly, their opposition to Louis XIV's interpretation of the law of devolution and their devotion to the Habsburg dynasty relied to no small degree on how Charles V and Philip II had preferred to combat evil heretics instead of finding 'French' solutions to the religious problems. In the face of French expansionism, Southerners celebrated the triumph of Catholicism and Habsburg respect for their local privileges.

In the Republic—more than in the Habsburg Netherlands—the Revolt had become a pillar of 'national' identity and was considered a relevant and very useful frame of reference. Since the Revolt was considered a more 'usable' past in the Republic than in the South, we can draw some more specific conclusions about the dynamics of memory in the North after 1648. We have seen that propagandists of the States Party, critics of the house of Orange, could not easily disentangle themselves from Orangist narratives about the Revolt. There are two important explanations for the use of historical references to the Revolt by supporters of True Freedom. In the first place, the historical canon was recognised by many as the foundation narrative of the Republic. In that capacity it was an important frame of reference which the States Party was unable to ignore in discussions about the Republic's legal constitution in the 1650s and '60s. The problem, however, was that supporters of the house of Orange had in the preceding decades successfully claimed the legacy of the Revolt as their moral property. As a result, recognition of William of Orange's achievements became difficult to reconcile with denying the stadholderate to the prince's great-grandson William III.

Secondly, a polemicist who appropriated the popular historical canon of the Revolt effectively compelled the opposition to do the same. Orangists accused the States Party of ingratitude and a lack of patriotism. The only way to counter these accusations—and this also explains how the States Party circumvented the Orangist slant of the dominant narrative—was to challenge the Orangist interpretation of the past and replace it with an anti-Orangist alternative. The existence of a popular and dominant interpretation of the past—in this case notably the celebration of William I of Orange as a national hero—did not preclude the existence of other interpretations, but it forced people with alternative views to position themselves grudgingly against the canon, compelling them constantly to debunk their opponents' reading of the past.

CHAPTER 7

Remediating the War

In 1664, the Tournai priest Pierre de Cambry published the memoirs of his maternal grandfather Ferry de Guyon.[1] De Guyon had been a lieutenant in the service of Charles V, but in his family he seems to have been known principally for his opposition to the first rebels in the Low Countries in 1566. In his memoirs, the lieutenant wrote that

> in the month of August in the year 1566, when the lands were in great division due to the sects and heresies, there was an assembly of people, who went around the country, ruining and destroying the churches and going up to Marchiennes to do the same on Sunday 25 August, about four to five hundred men ruined the entire church.[2]

De Guyon refused to accept such behaviour, mounted his horse and 'went up to Montigny and Maisnol, where I told the villagers of the grand insolences that the assembled Beggars did in these lands, without having been sent there and without any order'.[3] With seven hundred men he set about chasing the raging iconoclasts to the bridge in Marchiennes. The rebels tried to get away to neighbouring Bouvigny where De Guyon's troops dispersed them, killing many in the process.[4]

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1 Ferry de Guyon, *Les memoires non encor veues du sieur Fery de Guyon, escuyer bailly general d'Anchin, Pesquencour, &c: Contenantes les batailles, sieges de villes, rencontres, escarmouces, où il s'est trouvé, tant en Affrique, qu'en l'Europe, pour l'empereur Charles V. & Philippe II. roy d'Espaigne son fils de glorieuse memoire. Par P. de Cambry prestre, licentié és droicts, chanoine de Renay, son petit fils*, edited by Pierre de Cambry (Tournai: Adrien Quinqué, 1664). I would like to thank Erika Kuijpers for this reference.

2 Ibid., p. 133: 'Au moi d'Aoust dudit an 1566. comme les Pays estoient en grande division à cause des Sectes & Heresies, il fut faite quelque assemblée de gens populaires, qui alloient par le Pays, ruynans & destruisans les Eglises, & vindrent iusques à Marchiennes faire le semblable par un Dimanche 25. d'Aoust, environ de quatre à cinq cens hommes, lesquels ruïnerent toute l'Eglise'.

3 Ibid., pp. 135–136: 'peu apres je [...] allay iusques à Montigny & Maisnil, où je fis remonstrance aux paysans d'illec, des grandes insolences que ses Geux r'assemblez faisoient par le Pays, sans y estre envoyez, & sans aucun ordre'

4 Ibid., pp. 134–135.

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In the 1660s, almost a hundred years after the Iconoclastic Furies of 1566, three readers of De Cambry's edition of the De Guyon manuscript (two canons from Ronse and a local Jesuit) praised the author's naïveté and honesty. The provost and canon of the Collegial Church of St Hermes in Ronse, André Catulle, addressed his recommendation of the publication on 1 September 1663 to editor Pierre de Cambry. He wrote that he 'found great sincerity without any vice of flattery: which is something principally recommendable of those who write histories, according to the doctrine of Quintilian, and also his style has not so much elegance and refinement, as it has candour and truthfulness'.[5] Catulle ended his recommendation with a more spiritual evaluation of De Guyon's heroic conduct. 'It pleased our sire Philip II', he wrote, 'to recompense said De Guyon for his acknowledged services with the government of Bouchain'.[6] But De Guyon had died before he could take up his position. Catulle remarked that, nevertheless, 'it seems that this recompense, purely temporal, was replaced by spiritual benedictions, reserved for some of his descendants and particularly for Lady Jeanne de Cambry, your sister, also issue of Louise de Guyon, [who was] allied by marriage to the late Seigneur Michel de Cambry'.[7] This Jeanne de Cambry had been an Augustinian nun and later in her life a recluse, and she 'has composed a number of books and treatises about theological mysteries, and profound and divine science'.[8] And it was not only Lady Jeanne who had received some of her grandfather's benedictions. Pierre de Cambry, himself,

5 Ibid., f. a6v: 'I'ay [. . .] treuvé de la grande sincerité sans aucun vice de flaterie: ce qui est principalement recommandable à ceux qui escrivent les Histoires, selon la doctrine de Quintilian, encor que son style n'ait pas tant d'elegance & de politesse, que de candeur & de verité'.

6 Ibid., ff. a7r–v: 'il a pleu à nostre Sire Philippe second de recompenser ledit de Guyon de ses services signalez, parmy le gouvernement de Bouchain'.

7 Ibid., f. a7v: 'il semble que cette recompense, purement temporelle, ait esté changée en benedictions sprituelles, reservéé à quelques uns de ses descendans, & particulierement à Demoiselle Ienne de Cambry vostre germaine, issuë aussi de Louyise de Guyon, alliée par mariage à feu le Sieur Michel de Cambry'; Minim friar Hilarion de Coste listed Jeanne de Cambry in his *Les eloges et les vies des reynes, des princesses, et des dames illvstres en pieté, en Courage & en Doctrine, qui ont fleury de nostre temps, & du temps de nos Peres. Avec l'explication de leurs Devises, Emblémes, Hieroglyphes, & Symboles. Tome Second* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy et Gabriel Cramoisy, 1647), p. 733.

8 Ibid., f. a7v: 'a composé nombre de Livres & Traitez plains de mysteres Theologiques, & de science profonde, & toute divine'; Pierre de Cambry himself wrote about his sister in his *Abbregé de la vie de dame Ienne de Cambry, premierement religieuse de l'ordre de S. Augustin à Tournay, & depuis sœur Ienne Marie de la Presentation recluse lez Lille* (Antwerp: Jacob II Mesens, 1659); one of Jeanne de Cambry's most important publications was: Ienne de Cambry, *Traicte de la Rvine de l'amovr propre et dv bâtiment de l'amovr dîvin divise en quattre livres* (Tournai: Adrien Quinqué, 1627).

was a lucky recipient. André Catulle wrote that although De Cambry disliked praise and attention,

> our good Lord has also included you in the benedictions merited by said De Guyon your grandfather, when after such tempests and persecutions suffered continuously, He has taken you from the troubles of the world, to serve Him in the ecclesiastic and priestly estate, and has placed you in the solitary residence of Ronse, where He has inspired you, and given you leisure, health and strength to make a compilation, and place in the limelight, the life, and all the pious and heavenly works of your said sister.[9]

Grandson Pierre also wrote an epilogue in which he eulogised his ancestor and which betrayed less of the naiveté that was supposed to characterise De Guyon's account: 'Some months after having finished these memoirs and not thinking of anything but spending the rest of his life in peace and tranquility, he was made governor and captain of the castle of Bouchain'. De Guyon attributed this gift to

> the promise of her highness Margaret of Austria [...] to inform the king (then that was Philip II) of the service that he [De Guyon] rendered to him by the defeat of the first image-breakers, in which he was driven only by the zeal for the glory of God, service to the king and the commonwealth.[10]

When he was about to take possession, however, 'washing his hands, he died of apoplexy'.[11]

The example of Ferry de Guyon demonstrates both the elasticity of the past and the importance Pierre de Cambry and his protectors attached to the story.

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9 De Guyon, *Les memoires*, ff. a7v–a8r: 'nostre bon Dieu vous a fait aussi part des benedictions meritées par ledit de Guyon vostre grand pere, lors qu'apres tant de bourrasques & persecutions constamment souffertes, il vous a retiré du tracas du monde, pour le server dans l'Estat Ecclesiastique & Sacerdotal, & vous a placé en la residence solitaire de Renay, où il vous a inspiré, & donné le loisir, la santé & la force de faire un recueil, & mettre en lumiere, la Vie, & toutes les oeuvres pieuses & celestes de vostre dite Soeur'.

10 Ibid., p. 149: 'Quelques mois apres avoir achevé lesdites Memoires, & ne pensant plus qu'à passer le reste de sa vie en paix & repos, il fut fait Gouverneur & Capitaine du Chasteau de Bouchain, mercede qu'il attribua, & recent pour effet de la promesse de Son Alteze Marguerite d'Austriche, mentionnée cy dessus, d'advertir le Roy (qui estoit lors Philippe deuxiesme) du service qu'il luy avoit rendu, par la deffaite premiere desdits Brise-Images, à quoy il s'estoit porté du seul zele de la gloire de Dieu, service du Roy & bien publique du Pays.'

11 Ibid.: 'il tomba, lavant ses mains, en Apoplexie'.

Whereas his family probably had always commemorated De Guyon's forceful and loyal conduct, it was not the kind of story that could easily be used for public purposes in a society divided by civil war. Only after the restoration of order from 1585 onwards, could these stories begin serving a variety of public purposes, although in this case it took almost a century for a family member to pick up the story and do something with it. The value of De Guyon's narrative was, of course, that it proved his loyalty to the Habsburg overlord at a time when such loyalty was hard to find. By invoking a past that many others dared not touch, De Guyon's grandson could share in his ancestor's glory while local authorities gladly supported the moral that loyalty to church and dynasty ultimately paid off. This also explains why De Guyon himself, in his memoirs, comes across as a kind of thug, while his descendant and sponsors portrayed him as a very religious person.

Throughout this study, we have seen how the passage of time prompted people to keep alive the public memory of the Revolt. But how did it change memory practices? This final chapter will, therefore, analyse evidence of a public awareness that the Revolt was becoming an ever more distant past and what this meant for the commemoration of the conflict. How can we explain its continued relevance? Furthermore, I will examine the influence of new political developments on memory practices in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands.

Celebrating the Passing of Time

This study has shown that remembrance of the past often served clear secondary purposes. Yet, the passing of time itself could also be a reason for commemoration, now as well as in the seventeenth century. To illustrate this phenomenon for the present day we can note the practice of celebrating centenaries. In 2009, organisations throughout Protestant Europe celebrated the fifth centenary of the birth of John Calvin, in 1509. In the Netherlands, specifically, 2013 is celebrated as the second centenary of the foundation of the kingdom of the Netherlands—even though strictly speaking the kingdom came into being only in 1815. Academics find the celebration of a centenary a good reason, or perhaps rather a good excuse, to organise conferences, produce book projects, write articles, and publish monographs.[12] Historians tend to trace

12 Pieter Dhondt and Christophe Verbruggen, 'Academic Culture of Remembrance. The Combination of University History, Jubilees and Academic Heritage', *Studium. Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en Universiteitsgeschiedenis* 5:3 (2012), pp. 137–141; Jos Perry, *Wij herdenken dus wij bestaan. Over jubilea, monumenten en de collectieve herinnering* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1999), pp. 12–13; see for example also the revived interest for the Glorious Revolution of 1688–89, in 1988 and 1989: W.A. Speck, *Reluctant revolutionaries: Englishmen and the*

back the secular interest for centennial celebrations to the nineteenth century when, indeed, authorities organised large-scale national commemorations in the form of centenaries.[13] The national celebration in 1872 of the Beggars capturing Brill in 1572 was a major commemoration that set the tone for Brill's next 1 April centenary in 1972.[14] Leiden's modern anniversary celebrations of its liberation on 3 October 1574 also intensified after the centenary in 1874.[15]

Locally and throughout the Low Countries, however, early modern Netherlanders shared this enthusiasm for centennial anniversaries. In chapter 3, we encountered an awareness among clergymen that 1617 was the first centenary of Luther's Reformation. And in the case of Brill, for example, earlier centenaries preceded the 1872 celebration. In 1672, the city magistrate organised a celebration with flags, gunshots and bell ringing. In 1772, inhabitants of Brill prepared a likeness of the duke of Alba made of lard which was served at a commemorative dinner in the town hall.[16] Brill is only one example of many local centennial celebrations. Marianne Eekhout has found that centenaries came to be celebrated in Leiden, Groningen, Alkmaar, and Antwerp.[17] Judith Pollmann has argued that some of them, notably Leiden, came to be seen as national celebrations, too.[18]

In their celebrations of the passing of time, early modern people in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands found inspiration in the Old Testament, notably Leviticus 25 in which God instructed Moses to celebrate jubilees:[19]

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revolution of 1688 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); René W. Chr. Dessing, *Koningstadhouder Willem III, triomfator: de triomfale intocht in Den Haag in 1691* (The Hague: Haags Historisch Museum, 1988); R. Bastiaanse and Hans Bots, *Glorieuze revolutie: de wereld van Willem & Mary: een korte biografische schets en een beeld van de tijd / Glorious revolution: the world of William & Mary: a biographical sketch and a picture of their age* (The Hague: SDU, 1988); A.G.H. Bachrach, De *wereld van Willem III & Mary* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989).

13 See for instance: Joep Leerssen, 'Inleiding. Jubilea in historisch perspectief', *De Negentiende Eeuw* 26:1 (2002), p. 4.

14 Frans Groot, 'De strijd rond Alva's bril. Papen en geuzen bij de herdenking van de inname van Den Briel, 1572–1872', *BMGN* 110:2 (1995).

15 Judith Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel. Leiden, 1574', in: Herman Amersfoort et al., eds., *Belaagd en belegerd* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2011), p. 143.

16 Marlite Halbertsma, 'De Brielsche Feesten van 1872: "Grooter feest is er nooit geweest" ', *De Negentiende Eeuw* 26:1 (2002), p. 62.

17 Eekhout, 'Material Memories', pp. 182–194.

18 Pollmann, 'Een "blij-eindend" treurspel', pp. 131–135.

19 See for instance Franciscus Costerus, *Een cort tractaet vanden af-laet ter oorsaecken des overghesonden iubilæi. Anno 1603* (Brussels: Ian Mommaert, 1603), pp. 20–21; Johannes Cuperus, *Christelijk jubel-jaar of verhandeling van het oude jubel-jaar, soo als dat we*

> ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.[20]

Similarly, the Jewish celebration of Passover invoked the memory of the redemption from Egypt of the people of Israel. In 1630, schoolmaster Johannes de Swaef considered this Jewish custom worthy of emulation.[21] He cited passages from the Bible to prove his point, for instance Deuteronomy 4:9 containing God's command to the Jews:

> Onely take heed to thy selfe, and keepe thy soule diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes haue seene, and lest they depart from thy heart all the dayes of thy life: but teach them thy sonnes, and thy sonnes sonnes.[22]

De Swaef lamented that the Republic did not have a commemorative festival like Jewish Passover, and he suggested that Netherlanders should 'every year hold an *anniversarium solemnele monumentum*, a solemn annual commemoration of the miraculous deeds of God done to our Republic.'[23] He added that this should not be left to chambers of rhetoric, 'which do not have the impact worthy of such an excellent memory', but that the church should organise this national day of celebration.[24] Incidentally, no such day ever came into being.

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leer, naar de Goddelijke Wet Lev. 25 moest worden geviert: en met de volheyd des tijds sijn tegenbeeld, en vervulling aanvankelijk bekomen heeft in de Kerk-staat, en Gods-dienst van Christus Koning-rijk, en nog eens volstrektelijk daar in erlanden sal op het eynde der Eeuwen (Dordrecht: Corenlis Willegaerts, 1700), p. 1.

20 *The Holy Bible*, Leviticus 25:10.

21 Johannes de Swaef, *Mardachai, ofte Christelijcken patriot; allen vryen Vereenighden Nederlanders aenwijsende hoe sy des weerden vader-lants beste, volghens Godts woort, recht moeten soecken* (Middelburg: Iacob vande Vivere, 1630), p. 121.

22 Ibid., p. 120: 'Wacht u slechts, ende bewaert uwe siele wel, dat ghy niet en vergeet de ghe-schiedenissen die uwe ooghen ghesien hebben, ende datse niet uyt uwe herten en komen u leefdage; ende sult uwen kinderen ende kints kinderen kondt doen, den dagh doe ghy voor de Heeren stond'; the English translation is taken from *The Holy Bible*, Deuteronomy 4:9.

23 De Swaef, *Mardachai*, p. 122: 'alle Jare een anniversarium solemnele monumentum, een Iaerlijckx statelijck gheheughen hielden, van de wonderdaden Godes / die hy onse Republijcke bewesen heeft.'

24 Ibid., p. 122: 'die gheen effecten en wercken als sulck een treffelijcken gheheughenisse behoore te gheven'.

Why did people in the seventeenth century celebrate religious and secular jubilees? To answer this question it may be helpful to have a look at a contemporary's understanding of centennial commemorations. In 1640, Jesuits in the Southern Netherlands celebrated the fact that a hundred years earlier Pope Paul III had officially confirmed the Society of Jesus. The celebration drew attention to the Society's valiant efforts to exterminate heresy and proudly contrasted the 1540s, when Catholicism was under severe threat, with the 1640s, when the Habsburg Netherlands had become a European beacon of Catholicism. A group of Netherlandish Jesuits wrote a commemorative book in which they gave a particularly lucid explanation for why people celebrated centenaries:

> It is neither without reason, nor without the example of those who came before us, that the Society of Jesus is celebrating with such happiness the feast of her jubilee or one hundredth year, because of old times this has been a praiseworthy custom in the illustrious republics and also in the holy church. The true origin of celebrating the hundredth year [...] comes from the Romans. They used to be in the habit of holding great feasts about the first beginning and happy progress of her widely praised city, every time a hundred years had passed. Then, the entire city of Rome was full of joy and happiness.[25]

The Jesuits added that because the city of Rome organised these *ludi saeculares* only once every hundred years, heralds also spread the news in neighbouring towns. According to the authors they exhorted the local population to 'come and see the games, which none of the living people have seen and which none will see again because', they added, 'in general people's lives do not reach a hundred years'.[26] The celebration of a first centenary, then, marked the extinction of those who had witnessed the remembered event or, in the case

25 Joannes Bollandus et al. *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der societeyt Iesv* (Antwerp: Plantiinsche drvckeriie, 1640), pp. 1–2: 'T'en is noch sonder reden, noch sonder exempel van de ghene die voor ghegaen zijn, dat de Societeyt Iesu met sulck eene blijdschap is houdende de feeste van haer Iubilee oft hondertste iaer; aengesien van oude tijden dese loffelijcke gewoonte, soo by de vermaerste Republicken, als oock in de H. Kercke gheweest is. Den oprechten oorsprongh van't hondertste iaer te vieren [...] comt van de Romeynen. Dese ploghten eertijts groote feeste te houden over d'eerste beginselen ende geluckighen voortgangh van haere wijdt-beroemde stadt, soo dickwils alster wederom hondert iaeren omgheloopen waeren. Alsdan was heel Roomen vol vreught ende blijdschap'.

26 Ibid., p. 2: 'Komt siet de spelen, die niemant van de nu-levende menschen gesien en heeft, die oock niemant noch eens sien en sal om dat gemeynelijck 'smenschen leven tot hondert iaer niet en komt.'

of subsequent centenaries, had participated in the festivities of the previous centenary.

Emperor Constantine forbade the celebrations as idolatry, and allegedly 'from then on in Rome the hundredth birthday of Christ was celebrated with great festivities'.[27] The Jesuit authors explained that in 1300, Pope Boniface VIII issued a bull ('Antiquorum habet fida relatio') that instituted this 'centennial feast'.[28] Ultimately, Paul II and Sixtus IV decided to hold a jubilee every twenty-five years, reducing the rarity of the event 'so that everyone could witness such an occasion more than once in his life, or at least once.'[29] So far so good, but the problem was that the centenary of the Jesuits in 1640 was not an official Catholic jubilee mandated by the Holy See. For that reason, the authors felt it was necessary to justify this celebration and in doing so referred to the custom of celebrating centenaries in various communities. Communities, both religious and worldly, did so 'to publicly express gratitude to the divine majesty, through whose blessing and benefaction they enjoyed such good prosperity for a hundred years', but also 'to use the general happiness and joy to muster up courage, to begin a new century, which both in honour and virtue may not be inferior to the previous one.'[30] To prove their point, the authors named a few examples such as the University of Leuven, which in 1625 had celebrated its second centenary. And had the chapter of Ghent not organised a millennial commemoration of their patron saint St Bavo's demise?[31] The Jesuit authors wanted to show that nothing was wrong in showing to the world the religious constancy of oneself and others. Indeed, the celebration of centenaries of religious events was an established historical practice in the Southern Netherlands. This practice continued until far into the eighteenth century. In 1779, the inhabitants of the Flemish town of Poperinge celebrated the third centenary of the miracle of a miscarried local child who, after being buried, on

27 Ibid.: 'voortaen te Roomen 'thondertste iaer van de gheboorte Christi met overgroote feeste te vieren'.

28 Ibid., p. 3: 'hondert-iaerighe feeste'.

29 Ibid.: 'op dat het een ieghelijck meer dan eens in sijn leven soude moghen verdienen, oft immers ten minsten eens.'

30 Ibid.: 'om openbaerlijck haere danckbaerheyt tot de Godtlijcke Maiesteyt te betoonen, door wiens segen ende weldaet sy die hondert iaeren soo goeden voorspoet gehadt hadden; 'tzy, om met die al-ghemeyne vreught ende blijdschap eenen nieuwen moedt te scheppen, om eene nieuwe eeuwe te beginnen, de welcke in eere ende deught aen de voorgaende niet en soude moeten wijcken.'

31 Ibid.; it is worth remarking that there is no consensus about the year of death of St Bavo, but most scholars agree on a date in the 650s, which means that the millennium ought to have been celebrated in the 1650s.

the fourth day rose from the grave.[32] The celebration of millennia also served to prove the population's constant profession of the Catholic faith. In Bruges, for instance, Abbot Nicolaus Troeffenbergh of the Eekhout Abbey organised a celebration of the millennium of the local saint Trudo's establishment of the convent.[33] Centenaries could commemorate secular events as well. On 19 June 1650, the inhabitants of Brussels organised festive games because a hundred years before, the city had begun digging a new canal.[34] In 1688, pupils of the Jesuit College in Brussels organised a commemoration of the victory at the Battle of Worringen in 1288.[35]

People organised centenaries of events that they found important, often with a clear purpose for the present. In this light it is significant that from 1666 onwards, centennial commemorations of the Revolt became part of the existing tradition of celebrating religious and secular centenaries in the Habsburg Netherlands. In the period from 1666, one hundred years after the Iconoclastic Furies, to 1685, a century after the reconciliation of Antwerp to Alexander Farnese, multiple commemorations took place. The celebrations reflected the dominant historical narratives that had emerged in the South. In his manuscript history of the Habsburg Netherlands from 1612 to 1683, Joannes Jacquinet wrote that

> on the 19th of August [1666] it was one hundred years ago, that the iconoclastic furies began in the city of Antwerp, about which in the same city

32 Anonymous, *Dry-honderste over-lanck-gewenschte vreugde-jaer van 't minnelyck wonder werck uitgeschenen door de alverwinnende voorspraecke van Gods milde moeder in de roemruchtige levens-verweckinge van een misdregen kind, het welke dry dagen begraven zynde, en op den vierden dag herlevende, den 14 van Maerte 1479, 't H. Doopzel ontfing in S. Jans-Kerke binnen Poperinge* (Ypres: Jacobus Franciscus Moerman, [1779].

33 Philippus Jennyn, *Gheestelycken waeckenden staf der Jodsche Schaep-Herders* (Bruges: Lucas vanden Kerckhove, 1651), pp. 180–190; Van Geluwe, *Kort verhael*, ff. *3v–*4r; the commemoration of local saints was popular in the seventeenth century. In 1680, for instance, Mechelen celebrated the ninth centenary of the death of St Rumbold: anonymous, *Den jubile van Mechelen ofte S. Rombout wonderlyck in het leven glorieus in de doodt* [. . .] *sal speel-wys vertoont worden door de jonckheydt van de publicke schole, onder de bestieringe van de pp. van het oratorie op den 10. en 11. julii 1680* (Mechelen: Jan Jaye, 1680).

34 Jacques Stroobant, *Brusselsche eer-triumphen* [. . .] *met de vvaerachtighe beschrijvinge* [. . .] *van het dry hondert jarigh jubilé van het* [. . .] *H. sacrament van mirakelen* (Brussels: Peeter de Dobbelaer, 1670), p. 71.

35 Anonymous, *Vier-hondert-jarighen zeghen-prael naer den gheluckighen slagh van Woeringhen door Joannes, van dien naem eersten Hertogh van Brabandt, met bynaem den overwinner, den 30. mey in't jaer ons Heeren MDDLXXXVIII wordt verthoont door de Scholejongheydt van de P. der Societeyt Iesu . . .* (Brussels: Pierre Cleyn, 1688).

> they [the inhabitants] held an excellent centennial jubilee in the church of Our Lady, in memory of the event, so that God in future would save them from such harm.[36]

We see here that the Revolt reminded people of the continuing struggle against heresy. There is not much evidence of commemorations of the iconoclastic furies elsewhere, but probably there were other instances.[37] A Catholic pamphleteer, most likely from the Southern Netherlands, thought that the centenary in 1666 was a good reason to look back on a hundred years (and more) of Protestantism in the Northern Netherlands.[38] In his pamphlet, allegedly printed in Geneva in the 'wrong road-street, opposite the erring spirit, next to the misconception, in the newly forged Bible', the author explained that God's mercy was one hundred times stronger than his justice.[39] Hence, when God spoke to Noah and urged him to build an Ark, He gave him one hundred years to finish the task and hoped that in the meantime mankind would have learned from its mistakes. Since it had not, He flooded the earth.[40] 'Now', in 1666, a comparable situation was at hand because 'similarly [...] the great God has seen those great iconoclastic furies of the Calvinists, whom people called Beggars in the year 1566, about which he was incensed and wrathful to the highest degree, so that he could have destroyed at once those devilish heretics with all their attacks were it not for his usual practice of one hundred years of

36 Joannes Jakenet, 'Historie der Nederlanden onder de Regering van Albertus en Isabella, Philippus IV en Karel II, 1612 tot 1683, met bygevoegde portretten', KBR, MS 15938, f. 346r: 'Op den 19 augustus wast geleden hondert iaer, dat de beldt stormerye begonst binnen de stadt van Antwerpen, waerover sy inde selve stadt eene treffelycke hondert iaerighe iubilé gehauden hebben inde kercke van Onse Lieve Vrauwe, ter gedachtenisse der selve, omdat Godt haer voorder saude bewaren van sulcken ongerief.'

37 In Amsterdam, Catholic Herman Verbeeck in 1665 interpreted a thunderstorm as divine punishment for the Iconoclastic Furies that had occurred one hundred years earlier: Judith Pollmann, 'Being a Catholic in Early Modern Europe', in: Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 179; in Groningen in the Dutch Republic, clergyman Jacob Alting held a jubilee sermon to celebrate the centenary of the public profession of the Reformed faith. See: B.J. van der Vlies, *De hagepreek en de Beeldenstorm* (Amsterdam: Witkamp, 1866), p. 1.

38 Anonymous, *Den onvervalschten Hollandtschen waer-segger, dat is een oprechte almanach ofte voor segginghe voor 't jaer Ons Heeren 1666, eertijts ghepractiseert door den Hoog-Gheleerden D. Joannes Calvinis* (Geneva: s.n., 1566).

39 Ibid., p. 1: 'in de Dool-wegh-straet, teghen over den Dwael-gheest, aldernaest het Misverstant, in den nieuwen vervalschten Bybel'.

40 Ibid., p. 3.

mercy'.[41] For a hundred years, however, the heretics had adhered to their misconceptions, and now their end was nigh.

This Catholic pamphleteer's prediction of the downfall of Calvinism did not remain unanswered. A 'Hollander' published a text in which he surveyed each of the Southern author's allegations and refuted them point by point, reflecting in particular on the number 666.[42] He cited the Book of Revelation, in which St John of Patmos declared: 'Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six'.[43] The author rejected the hypocrisy of his Catholic adversary: 'while they like to speak much about the hundred years in which our state has flourished, they do not commemorate that the popes of Rome in the year 666 were confirmed in their See by acting against the first Christian patriarch [...] of Constantinople so ungodly with treachery and unheard-of blood thirst.'[44] Since then, the devil had possessed each successive pope. Now, the passage of a thousand years spelled the ruin of the antichrist and the days of the Catholic church were numbered.

The increasing distance in time and the continued disagreements between Northern Protestants and Southern Catholics lessened the controversial nature of stories about the Revolt, both in North and South. Awareness that the Revolt had begun one hundred years earlier probably inspired a Jesuit propagandist from the Habsburg Netherlands, Cornelius Hazart, in 1669 to publish an important church history in Dutch. In the third volume of his four-volume *Ecclesiastical History of the Whole World* [*Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele wereldt*], Hazart dealt with the past troubles in the Low Countries

41 Ibid.: 'Als oock [...] heft dien grooten Godt ghesien die groote Beeldt-stormery der Calvinisten, diemen noemt de Geusen in het Iaer 1566. daer hy over vertorent was ende vergramt inden hoochsten graet, alsoo dat hy die verduyvelde Ketters met alle hun aenslaghen op den staenden voet hadde connen vernielen, ten ware dat hy sijne ghewoonelijcke bermherticheyt van hondert Iaren hadde willen oeffenen.'

42 Anonymous, *Den oprechten Hollantse waersegger ofte Prognosticatie op het groote wonder iaer, 1666. Eertijts gepractiseert door d. Martinus Luther, en nae verlicht door d. Ioannes Cavinus ... Waer in de bouvalligheyt der roomsche stoel, als mede den voorspoet ... der Hollanders met den coningh van Engelant wert vertoont ... Tegen den hier nevens gaenden Vlaemschen leughen-gheest, schuylende onder de naem van den Onvervaschten Hollandtschen waersegger, ofte voorsegginge op 't iaer ... 1666* (Antwerp: s.n., 1666).

43 *The Holy Bible*, Revelation 13:18.

44 Ibid., f. a2v: 'gelyck zy oock veel willen spreecken van de hondert jaren waer in onsen Staet ghefloreert heft, zy niet en gedencken dat de Pausen van Roomen in't Iaer 666 tegen den eerste kristen Patriarg [...] van Konstantinopolen so goddeloos met verraderie en noyt gehoorde moorderie in haren stoel zyn bevestigt'.

and, remarkably, also paid relatively much attention to the period of Alba's governorship.[45] This rich account drew from the works of Franciscus Haraeus, Famiano Strada, Adriaen van Meerbeeck, Heribert Rosweyde and Nicolaus Burgundus and was also illustrated by numerous depictions of Beggars abusing good Catholics. In his discussion of the iconoclastic furies, which had provoked Philip II's sending of Alba to the Low Countries, Hazart referred to Northern historians Bor, Van Meteren and Gerard Brandt. 'In order to prevent their sect from becoming hated among the community', he wrote, 'they repeat frequently in their histories that a bunch of souls, thugs, whores, thieves, and scum had begun the iconoclasm and that their clergymen had not been culpable'.[46] Although Hazart readily agreed that thugs and whores had participated in the furies, they were Calvinists egged on by Calvinist preachers. Throughout his text he used a range of Catholic historians as his sources and at the same time discredited Northern historians. The historiography about the death of Don John of Austria exemplified this discrepancy between good Catholic history-writing and false Northern scholarship. Don John fell ill not far from Namur. On his deathbed he heaved sighs, not because of his suffering but because he had so hoped to be able to die for the Catholic faith.[47] Nevertheless, he died a devout man, something which, Hazart notes, did not capture the attention of Northern historians. Having taken his evidence from several credible Catholic authors, Hazart wondered about the

> bitterness and passions of the Beggar historians, namely Emanuel van Meteren, Pieter Bor, and Pieter Hooft, who not only have maliciously concealed the respectable circumstances of Don John's death, but who have also not been ashamed to sully the reputation of this Christian and devout hero.[48]

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45 Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* III; see also: Joep van Gennip, 'Cornelius Hazart S.J., *Kerkelycke historie* (1669)', in: Paul Beghyn et al., eds., *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries 1540–1773* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 183–186.

46 Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* III, p. 58: 'om hunne secte niet hatigh te maken by de Ghemeente [...] herhaelen seer dickwils, in hunne historien, dat het eenen hoop sielen, rabauwen, hoeren, boeven, ende ghespuys is gheweest die de beeldt-stormerye hebben aen-ghegaen, ende dat hunne Predikanten sich hier mede niet en hebben bemoeyt.'

47 Ibid., p. 155.

48 Ibid., p. 156: 'de bitterheyt, ende passion van de Geusche History-schrijvers, namelijck Emanuel de Metere, Pieter Bor, ende Pieter Hooft, de welcke niet alleen dese treffelijcke omstandigheden van de doodt van Don Ioan moetwillighlijck hebben verswegen, maer oock niet beschaemt zijn gheweest dien Christelijcken ende vromen Heldt in sijnen lof te bekladden'.

Hooft, for instance, suggested that Philip II had ordered someone to poison Don John. Pieter Bor claimed that God had punished Don John for his pride.[49]

The increasing distance in time made it easier to embed the Revolt in the much longer history of Catholicism under threat. The city of Brussels, for instance, celebrated in 1670 the third centenary of the Holy Sacrament of Miracle.[50] On the occasion, Jacques Stroobant wrote a history of the devotion of the Brussels Sacrament.[51] In his preface he linked the Holy Sacrament of Miracle to the history of Brussels, which he felt was in dire need of a history in the vernacular.[52] Stroobant mentioned other historians who had published local histories including Erycius Puteanus, Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, Aubertus Miraeus, Adrianus Barlandus, and Franciscus Haraeus, but their histories, being in Latin, 'are not read by the common man, as would be desirable so that all lords, burghers and inhabitants may know and see what has happened here in previous times.'[53] Stroobant wrote that the chapter of the St Gudula Church with the provosts of the fraternity of the Holy Sacrament of Miracles 'noticing that gradually the time came near of the third centenary of the eminent Holy Sacrament of Miracles' set out to organise the jubilee.[54]

The chapter collaborated with government authorities and religious orders to organise a grand-scale commemoration. Joannes Jacquinet wrote that on

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49 Ibid.

50 See for example: anonymous, *Eevw-ghety des heylighs sacraments, ofte Den vollen ivbilé van dry-hondert iaren, en de ghevvenschte dry-hondert-iarighe ivbel-feest* (Brussels: Guilliam Scheybels, 1670); a centenary of another Holy Sacrament of Miracle was celebrated in Leuven: anonymous, *Zegenprael der onwinbare kercke* [...] *op de dry-hondert-jarige feeste van het H. sacrament van miraeckel, by de* [...] *augustynen binnen* [...] *Loven* (Leuven: Adriaen de Witte, 1674). Although the miracle celebrated in Leuven had taken in place in Middelburg, the devotion was moved to Leuven when William of Orange captured Middelburg in 1574, see: 'Middelburg, Heilig Sacrament', in: *Databank Bedevaart en Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, Meertens Instituut, http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/bedevaart/bol/plaats/501 (accessed 22 January 2013).

51 Stroobant, *Brusselsche eer-triumphen*; anonymous, *Groot en langh-ghewenschte dry-hondert-iaerich jubilé van het wijdt-vermaert alder-heylighste sacrament van mirakel* (Ghent: Maximiliaen Graet, 1670).

52 Stroobant, *Brusselsche eer-triumphen*, f. *a1v; Willem de Bury described the festivities in Latin in his *Bruxellensium jubilus ss. sacramento trecentis annis miraculoso exhibitus mense julio & Aug: anni* M.DC.LXX (Mechelen: Joannis Jay, 1670).

53 Ibid., f. *a1v: 'soo onder den man niet en zijn, als't wel waer te wenschen, om dat alle Heeren, Burghers, en In-ghesetenen souden mogen weten en sien, wat hier in voor-tijden al ghedenckweerdighs gheschiedt is.'

54 Ibid., f. aa1r: 'Siende en bemerckende dat allenxkens den tyt quam te naerderen van het dry hondert Jarigh Iubilé, van het Hooghweerdigh H. Sacrament van Mirakelen'.

20 July 1670 'thousands of people, young and old, flocked to see and worship the high feast day of the venerable Holy Sacrament of Miracle, whose memorable mystery was then exactly 300 years ago'.[55] That day, a great procession was held past decorative arches with depictions of the miracle. The same route was being followed as during the 'regular' commemorations of the miracle, organised annually. Jacquinet felt it was difficult

> to describe the beauty and splendour that could be seen everywhere, both on the streets as well as in front of churches and the Dominicans, and before the church of the Society of Jesus, which was decorated the prettiest of all, and whose fathers had made the best effort to make everything successful and who had also arranged the nine triumphant floats, all at the cost of the city of Brussels.[56]

Although the celebrations in 1670 were held in honour of the Holy Sacrament of Miracle, it is evident that, apart from the story of Jewish Host desecration, the centenary also invoked the public memory of the threats of heresy. In several ways the sixteenth-century troubles played a role in the proceedings of the 1670 jubilee. First of all, there was the dynastic framing of the story. For instance, one of the cavalcades during the procession was entitled 'the Holy Sacrament triumphant because of the piety of the house of Austria'.[57] Depictions of pious rulers such as Rudolf I showed how Habsburg princes had always been devout Catholics. Philip II was also included, 'who rather lost his lands, than concede to the rage of the heretics against the honour of this holy mystery'.[58]

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55 Jakenet, 'Historie der Nederlanden', f. 360r: 'deusenden van menschen, ionck ende audt, waren comende om te sien ende te vereeren den hooghen feest dach vant hoogh weerdich H. Sacrament van Mirakel, wiens gedenckwaerdige misterie nu iuyst was geleden 300 iaeren'.

56 Ibid., f. 361r: 'ten is qualyck met geene penne te beschryven de schoonicheyt ende fraeicheyt dier over al te sien was, soe opde straten als mede voor eenighe kercken als voor de Predickheeren ende voor de kercke vande Societeyt Iesus, daer het wel het alder schoonsten was verchiert, ende welcke paters oock den meesten arbeyt daer toe gedaen hadden om alles in goeder orden te stellen ende die 9 triumphante wagens oock hadden geordonneert ende toe gestelt, doch alles tot last ende costen van der stadt Brussel'.

57 Stroobant, *Brusselsche eer-triumphen*, p. 125: 'het H. Sacrament triumpherende door de godts-dienstigheydt van het huys van Oostenrijck.'

58 Ibid., p. 125: 'die liever heeft gehadt sijn Landen te verliesen, als iet toe te laten aen de rasernye vande Ketters, teghen de eer van dit H. Mysterie.'

Commemoration of the Revolt was not the aim of the organisers of the Holy Sacrament celebrations, but the rebellion did play a major part in the proceedings. In front of the house of the count of Grimbergen, close to the St Gudula Church, one triumphal arch drew attention to the origins of the veneration of the Holy Sacrament and, more importantly, to previous jubilees. It showed how the relic had strung together three successive dynasties: the houses of Brabant, Burgundy and Habsburg. Duke Wenceslas of Brabant, husband of Joanna of Brabant, had punished the evildoers in 1370. One century later Charles 'the Bold' of Burgundy had organised the first centenary of the miracle, and another century later the Habsburg prince Philip II had continued the veneration in his fight against heretics.[59] The Latin inscription that accompanied a statue of Philip II characterised him as the 'firmest exterminator of infidels and heretics as far as the world extends'.[60] According to Stroobant, religious troubles also explained the lack of commemorations in 1570, when the country had been in too much turmoil to organise a grand-scale event.[61] Indeed, the Jesuits had erected in front of their church an arcade that attributed the lack of celebrations in 1570 to the bellicosity of heretics. It showed, according to Stroobant's description, that 'the peace, war and heresy being chased away, gave to the city of Brussels this happy jubilee'.[62] Between two arches near the Mint, pictures of the former overlords adorned the houses. Here was also the convent of the sisters of Mary-Magdalene, where the relic had been hidden during Brussels' period as a Calvinist republic. The nuns had decorated the front of their convent with tapestries and with wax figures that depicted the return of the relic by Joannes Hauchin, the archbishop of Mechelen, to the St Gudula Church in 1585. Stroobant ended the description of the street with the remark that everyone had done their very best to ensure the continued veneration of the sacrament.[63]

In chapter 2 we saw how the celebration of the Holy Sacrament of Miracle served to show the populace that Catholicism had been, and was still, under threat but would ultimately be triumphant. By the end of the seventeenth century the public memory of the Revolt also began to serve that function. In the summer of 1685, a halberdier from Amsterdam in the Dutch Republic, who

59 Ibid., pp. 113–115.

60 Ibid., p. 115: 'impiorum et haereticorum constantissimo, qua patet, orbis exstirpatore'.

61 Ibid., p. 95.

62 Ibid., p. 116: 'hoe den Peys, den Oorlogh en Ketterye verjaeght zijnde, aen de stadt Brussel den blijden Jubilé gaf'; the triumphal arch of the aldermen of Brussels, erected close to the city hall, conveyed a similar message: ibid., p. 107.

63 Ibid., p. 112.

went by the name of Anthony Creel, visited Antwerp and kept a diary of his travels. His timing was auspicious because the city was just celebrating some important commemorative days, 'being then the first centenary of when the duke of Parma, Alexander Farnese, took the city of Antwerp under the government of his royal majesty Philip the Second.'[64] The people of Antwerp celebrated that a hundred years had passed since their liberation from heretical domination. The event in Antwerp was well publicised, and several publications from the festivities survive.[65] Jesuit Petrus Franciscus de Smidt wrote a commemorative book on the occasion. To introduce his readers to the centenary, the author first explained 'how our imperial city of Antwerp was abused by rebellious and mutinying heretics'.[66] They had practiced

> extreme godlessness, which had already spread itself through many cities and provinces of our Netherlands: it so happened that they not only plundered the main church of our city, but also the subaltern parishes, convents and churches, stripped from all ecclesiastical ornaments, and the icons torn asunder from all sides, violated and broken, all holy relics and shrines abused and disgracefully trampled upon.[67]

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64 Creel, 'Bondich verhaal', f. 52r: 'sijnde doen eenverjaringh van hondert iaeren geleeden dat den hartogh van parma alexander farnese de stadt van antwerpen heeft ingenomen onder de regeringhe van sijne koninklijcke majesteijt philyppus den tweede'.

65 Petrus Franciscus de Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubilé-vreught bewesen in dese Stadt Antwerpen ter oorsaacke vande herstellinge des geloofs in't jaer 1585. door de Glorieuse wapenen van sijne Catholijcke Majesteyt, onder t'beleyt vanden Victorieusen Prince Alexander Farnesius Hertogh van Parma &c.* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1685); Hermannus Franciscus Van den Brandt, *De herstellinge van de Roomsche religie binnen de stadt Antwerpen, haer overgevende aen de gehoorsaemheydt van zyne Koninglyke Majesteyt van Spanien, . . .: blyeindende treur-triumph spel* (Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1685); anonymous, *Antverpiense Jubilum* (s.l.: s.n., 1685); anonymous, *Waerachtich ende cort verhael van het gene vertoont is gheweest van de jonckheyt* [. . .] *der societeyt Jesu van het Engels colesie* [. . .] *vierende het honderste* [*!*] *iaer, vande verlossinghe der stad Antwerpen. Ghehouden op den 27. augusti 1685* (Antwerp: Gielis Verhulst, 1685).

66 De Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubilé-vreught*, f. a2r: 'in't kort te verbelden hoe dat onse Keyserlijcke Stadt Antwerpen door de op-roerighe ende muytenerende Ketters mishandelt is'.

67 Ibid., ff. a2r–v: 'extreme Goddeloosheid, die hae door veele steden ende Provincien van ons Nederlandt nu al hadde verspreyt: is soo voort ghevaeren datse niet alleen de hooft-Kercke onser stadt, maer oock soo de subalterne Parochien, als Cloosters ende Godtshuysen hebben uyt-gheplundert, berooft van alle Kerckelijck cieraet, ende de Belden aen alle canten af-gheruckt, geschonden ende ghebroocken, ende voorts alle Heylighe Reliquien ende Heylighdom mishandelt ende schandelijck onder de voeten ghesmeten hebben'.

God no longer wanted to tolerate the suffering of his 'elect people', De Smidt explained, and He 'by the skill and industry of the unsurpassed prince Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma etc. used His omnipotence to relieve our city of Antwerp from the dark night of heretical errors, under which they had been suffering for some years'.[68] In August 1685, one hundred years later, Antwerp organised its jubilee. To give thanks to God, for the first time the 'reverend lords canons of the Cathedral Church have desired to show their special zeal and affection by decorating and cleaning the entire church and the altars'.[69]

The English college of the Jesuits published a booklet about their festivities on the occasion of the centenary, which described the parade of Jesuit floats passing by.[70] Trumpets heralded the first float, depicting 'Antwerpia, chained by the rabid rebels, behind the godless iconoclasm, whose merciless violence trampled upon the golden faithfulness, accompanied by the restless heresy, trampling on the true and unerring religion'.[71] In line with the usual way of propagating information about the Revolt, the author blamed rebels—who were not from Antwerp—for holding the city hostage. Apparently, the float showed how Antwerpia gave a sword to Alexander Farnese that was so strong that it enabled him to capture the city. Hence, the fall of Antwerp was not so much a hostile take-over but rather a joint effort of the prince of Parma and the good citizens.[72] The idea of Antwerpia in chains recurred in other floats and triumphal arches. The arch on the Steenhoudersvest showed St Norbert who defeated the heretic Tanchelm in 1115, a popular story in Counter-Reformation Antwerp. The arch also featured two of the martyrs of Gorcum. On the day of the celebrations, Parma and Philip II were shown unchaining Antwerpia.[73]

A few days after his visit to Antwerp, Creel came to Brussels, and there, too, he was confronted with a lively memory culture about the Revolt. After a visit to the Grand Place he noted how 'the chronicles report that the lords

68 Ibid., f. a2v: 'door beleydt ende industrie van den noyt-vol presen Prince Alexander Farnesius Hertogh van Parma &c. ghebruyckt sijne Almoghentheyt in't verlossen onder stadt Antwerpen uyt den donckeren nacht der Kettersche dwaelinghen, waer in sy nu al eenighe jaeren versucht hadde'.

69 Ibid.: 'voor eerst [hebben] de Eerweerdighe Heeren Canonicken vande Cathedrale Kercke willen bethoonen hunnen sonderlinghen yver ende gheneghentheyt in't vercieren ende reynighen der gheheele Kercke ende Autaeren'.

70 Anonymous, *Waerachtich ende cort verhael*.

71 Ibid., s.p.: 'Die uytbeelt de geketende Antverpia, door de verwoede Rebellen, achter op de Goddeloose Beltstormery, wiens niet ontsiende gewelt worpt de goude Getrouwicheyt onder de voeten, vergeselschapt met haer gespeel de ongheruste Ketterye, vertrappende de waere ende onfeylbare Religie'.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

the counts of Egmont and Horne were beheaded in front of the Maison du Roi in the times of the duke of Alba'.[74] Creel was not the only traveller in the Southern Netherlands who commented on this dark episode in the square's history. Many seventeenth-century accounts of the city of Brussels, such as histories, travel diaries and chorographies, mentioned the execution of the two counts and linked this event to the Grand Place.[75] Further on in his account, Creel observed different parts of the local memory landscape in Brussels. At the court on the Coudenberg he marvelled at the stuffed horse of Archduchess Isabella (1566–1633) and the suit of armour of Archduke Albert (1559–1621). Above the court stables he admired the royal standard of Francis I of France whom Charles V's army had captured at the Battle of Pavia in 1525. He also noted the relics from battles against the Ottomans such as the coat of arms of Don John of Austria who had fought against the 'infidel' at the battle of Lepanto in 1571.[76] In evoking the public memory of past struggles against unbelievers and heretics, inhabitants and visitors of Brussels were aware of the fact that these were not just things of the past. Even during Creel's stay in Brussels, on 20 August 1685 a service of thanksgiving was held in the St Gudula Church for the Habsburg victory against Ottoman forces at the Battle of Gran (modern-day Esztergom) in Hungary.[77]

Clearly, then, far into the seventeenth century Southern people attached importance to their past not just because they thought it was interesting, but also because they could put stories about the past to political use in the present. The Revolt was no exception. As we have seen, centenaries highlighted the ongoing struggle against heresy and taught Southerners that loyalty to the Habsburgs would ultimately lead to victory.

Remediation in the Dutch Republic

In the Dutch Republic, centennial commemorations of the Revolt also served to frame new political circumstances. The centenary on 1 April 1672 of the first rebel take-over of a Netherlandish city, namely Brill, coincided with

74 Creel, 'Bondich verhaal', f. 54v: 'de cronycke melden dat de heeren graven van egmondt en hooren voordat broothuys sijn onthalst inde tyden vanden hartoch van alba'.

75 Verhoeven, *Anders reizen?*, pp. 218–219; Verhoeven points out that the sword with which the counts of Egmont and Horne were beheaded was also on display.

76 Creel, 'Bondich verhaal', f. 64r.

77 Ibid., f. 58r.

increased tension between France and the Republic.[78] In reaction to the War of Devolution, England, Sweden and the Dutch had joined powers to counterbalance the rise of France. In retaliation for the Dutch Republic's participation in this Triple Alliance (1668) and as part of Louis XIV's expansionist policies, France invaded the Northern Netherlands.[79] Following the political and military unrest that ensued from this venture against the United Provinces, literary activity mounted. 1672 saw an enormous growth in pamphlet production in the cities of the Republic as people confided to paper their worries and concerns.[80] As Donald Haks has argued, political pamphlets played an important role in fostering the public support necessary to continuing the war effort during the three expensive wars against France in the period 1672–1713.[81] Haks shows convincingly that the Eighty Years' War served as an example and inspired the population's endurance of privation.[82] The following section will build on his work to explore how new war experiences changed the way people in the Republic looked back on the Revolt against the Habsburg overlord.

In 1672, Alkmaar bookseller Reyndert Jansz Moerbeeck published a booklet about the pitiable state of the Republic after the invasion of the French, in which he urged people to pray to God and to consider examples from history. 'Let us recall our ancestors,' Moerbeeck urged his audience, 'who so courageously fought for our Lord God, and were thus liberated from the hands of the enemy.' Moerbeeck exhorted his readers to remain loyal to the fatherland and fight for their freedom. 'Thus God will help us, just as he helped our forefathers almost a hundred years ago. My dear brothers: their struggle is a good example to us all.'[83] The author took his readers one hundred years back to a time when the Sea Beggars took hold of several coastal cities in Holland

78 The centenary was acknowledged not only in the Dutch Republic, see: anonymous, *Jubel-Jahr der vereinigten niederländischen Provincien Anno 1672: neben angefügter prächtiger Begräbniß und Gedächtniß-Seule* (s.l.: s.n., 1672).

79 Jonathan Israel, 'De Franse opmars en de anti-Franse coalitie in de late 17de eeuw, 1668–1702', in: Paul Janssens, ed., *België in de 17de eeuw* (Gent: Snoeck, 2006), p. 43.

80 Michel Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos. Populisme en moord in het rampjaar 1672* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2010), pp. 14–17; Vroomen, 'Taal van de Republiek', pp. 171–172; Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672–1713*, pp. 21–55.

81 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 293–303.

82 Ibid., pp. 25, 38, 65–66, 91, 289–290.

83 Reyndert Jansz Moerbeeck, *Het klaegh-huys des Heeren: of het Christelijck zee-schip, waer van Christus de zee is, waer door wy alle moeten passeren* (Alkmaar: Reyndert Jansz Moerbeeck, 1672), Knuttel 10244, f. a4v: 'Als wy eens gedencken aen onse Voor-Ouderen / […] die soo vromelijck treden met Godt den Heere / en soo uyt de handen van haer Vyanden verlost zijn. […] Soos al onse Godt ons hulpe doen / gelijck hy onse voor-Ouderen

and Zeeland and thus gained a foothold for the Revolt. The year also marked the duke of Alba and his son Don Fernando's violent campaign of retribution against the rebellious cities. Many Netherlanders would have seen the sack of Naarden in December 1572, dealt with by Moerbeeck, as a prime example of Spanish tyranny.[84] Clergyman Michaël Frederic Tatinghof from Zaandam wrote an account of the 1672 invasion entitled *Remember the Netherlands' Downfall, Begun in the Terrible Leap Year 1672* [. . .] *About a Hundred Years after the Netherlandish Rise had Begun* [*Gedenck Nederlandts Nederganck, begonnen in 't Verschricklijck Schrickel-Jaer* MDCLXXII. [. . .] *Als even voor hondert Jaer op de selve tijdt Neerlandts Opganck begost*].[85] After his discussion of 1672, the author added a brief account of the Revolt in 1572. Then, 'the first foot of land was won by the Water Beggars by the capture of Brill', after which 'Vlissingen [and] Veere surrendered to the prince [William I], the burghers of Enkhuizen seized the city for the prince'.[86] What follows is a concise list of rebel victories in 1572.

As Moerbeeck and other authors conceded, the celebrated struggle for freedom had ended decades earlier, and many of the blackest Spanish war crimes had been committed almost a century before. Still, seeing Spain as a hereditary enemy was irresistible for many authors who considered such enmity as a national trait to be passed on to the next generation. 'It is inherited by the Netherlands, the love for Orange, it is inherited by the Netherlands, the aversion to Spain,' wrote schoolmaster Johannes Orizant in 1670.[87] Orizant composed

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heeft gedaen / dat nu haest hondert Jaer geleden. Mijn liever broeders; dit is een goet exempel voor ons'.

84 This public memory involved not only the elites. Neeltje Luijkis, a working class woman, who was not well educated, lamented in 1672 to her sailing husband that the French treated the Dutch people so murderously 'such as the duke of Alba had never done in his tyranny' ['als nimmer als Ducdalf gedaen heeft in sijn tieraenij'], cited in: Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden*, p. 4.

85 Michaël Frederici Tatinghof, *Gedenck Nederlandts Nederganck, begonnen in 't Verschricklijck Schrickel-Jaer* MDCLXXII. *Door de slaende Handt Gods der Heerschers in alle landt. Als even voor hondert Jaer op de selve tijdt Neerlandts Opganck begost* (Amsterdam: Albert van Panhuysen, 1672).

86 Ibid., p. 8: 'het eerste voet Landts gekregen door de Watergeusen met innemen van de Briel [. . .] Vlissingen, ter Veere geven sich onder de Prins, de Burgers van Enckhuysen maken sich meester van de Stadt voor de Prins'.

87 Johannes Orizant, *Oude wijn in Nieuwe Leder-zacken, of Lauwrier-Krans, Her-Vloghten om het Hooft van . . . Wilhelmus de III. By der gratie Godts, geboren Prince van Orangie . . . Over sijne Heerlijcke Intrede inden Raed van State der Geunieerde Provintien, en in die Eminente Chargie geluckigh op syne Hoogh. Persoon bevestigt den 31 May 1670* (s.l.: s.n., 1670), p. 51:

his text on the occasion of William III's appointment as stadholder and the prince's accession to the Council of State. This 'encourages me,' he wrote, 'to shed light on the illustrious and heroic deeds of the august houses of Nassau and Orange as they are dealt with in the history books.' The observation that many of those deeds had fallen into oblivion was all the more reason for recalling past heroism, 'of which the lustre has been obscured by the rust of time.'[88]

Just like in the South, not only the rust of time motivated Northerners to commemorate the Revolt. Revolt propaganda also conveniently premediated protests against French expansionism during the invasion of 1672–3.[89] According to the political needs of the time, the narrative frame of past Spanish misdeeds could simply be reused. In his pamphlet *Frank Address* [*Vrymoedige aenspraeck*], first published in 1650, the Orangist clergyman Maximiliaen Teelinck from Middelburg had sided with the house of Orange in the public discussion between supporters of True Freedom and Orangists. Teelinck defended the prince of Orange's right to public authority by underlining the historical position William III's forefathers had occupied in government and the role they had played in liberating the land from Spain. He likened the princes of Orange to Moses, Joshua and David, while portraying the Spanish as the violent Philistines. In 1672, nineteen years after its author's death, Amsterdam publisher Jacob Benjamin brought a new edition of the *Frank Address* on the market. Almost identical to the one published in 1650, in the 1672 edition the references to the Spanish enemy were replaced by references to 'the enemy' in general, and sometimes to France or other states. Significantly, many of the author's qualifications of the enemy did not change. A simple comparison between the two texts reveals that negative attributions to the Spanish enemy appeared to be equally useable in relation to new enemies: France, England, Münster and Cologne. In the 1650 edition, the author had cautioned his audience to remain vigilant, for 'the Spanish act perfidiously, do not believe them, their mouths are as slippery as butter.'[90] In 1672, the Republic had acquired

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''t Is Neerlant aen ge-erft, een Liefde tot Orangie, / 't Is Neerlant aenge-erft, een afkeer van Hispanie.'

88 Ibid, preface, s.p.: 'heeft my aengemoedight de Illustre en Heroique Daden des Doorlugtigen Huysen van Nassauw en Orangie, in de geschiet-Boecken vervat (die soo wat van haer Glans verduystert schenen, door den Roest des Tyts) […] in 't Light te brengen'.

89 Schama, *The Embarrassment*, pp. 278–279; Cilleßen, 'Der Spiegel der jeugd', pp. 81–88; Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 38–41.

90 Maximiliaan Teelinck, *Vrymoedige aenspraeck aen syn hoogheyt de heere prince van Oraengjen* […]. *Gestelt tot vvaerschouwingh en noodige opmerckingh in desen verwerden en kommerlijcken standt van ons lieve vaderlandt* (Middelburg: Anthony de Later, 1650),

new enemies and the text was altered accordingly: 'The French, English and the Bishops' adherents act perfidiously, do not believe them, their mouths are as slippery as butter.'[91] The publisher thus had no scruples in replacing Spain with France, England, Münster and Cologne. The passage strikingly reveals that existing methods of denigrating the old enemy were applied to new foes.

Another indication that the memory culture of the Revolt premediated accounts of the French tyranny is the reporting on the French massacres in Zwammerdam and Bodegraven in Holland in December 1672. On the fateful days of 28 and 29 December, French troops slaughtered the population that had stayed behind, and soldiers burnt down the two villages.[92] Printers were inspired by the extremely popular *Mirror of Youth*, adopted its format, and narrated a collection of enemy cruelties remarkably similar to those discussed in chapter 2. Probably from 1674 onwards, the *New Mirror of Youth or French Tyranny* [*Nieuwe spiegel der jeugt of Fransche tyrannye*] appeared, which described the violence of French soldiers.[93] Wolfgang Cilleßen rightly observes that the *New Mirror* contains a very similar 'repertoire of brutalities' such as people being burnt in their own houses, drowned in water, raped, having their breasts cut off, and salt and pepper sprinkled on the wounds.[94] Other publications, too, forged a link between the attacks on Bodegraven and Zwammerdam, and the great struggle against Spain. Reformed clergyman Johannes Quintius for instance wrote an account of the events in which he emphasised the awesome power of God.[95] He explained that the Lord's punishment had 'miraculously and astonishingly wreaked havoc at the time of Nero, Caligula, Maxentius, Valerian, Julian etc. and particularly against Philip the second, king of Spain, against whom the blood of the Netherlands cried out like the blood of

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Knuttel 6857, p. 10: 'De Spaensche handelen trouwlooslick, en gelooftse niet, haer mont is gladder dan boter'.

91 Maximiliaan Teelinck, *Vrymoedige aenspraeck, aen sijn hoogheyt de heere prince van Orangien* [. . .] *Gestelt tot waerschouwingh en noodige opmerckingh in desen verwerden en kommerlijcken stant van ons lieve vaderlandt* (Amsterdam: Jacob Benjamin, 1672), p. 10: 'de Fransche, Engelsche, en Bisschopse handelen trouwlooslijck, en gelooftse niet, haer mont is gladder dan boter'. With thanks to Ingmar Vroomen for giving me these two references.

92 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 21–35.

93 Anonymous, *Nieuwe spiegel der jeugt of Fransche tyrannye* (Alkmaar: Jan van Beyeren and Jacob Maagh, [1674?].

94 Cilleßen, 'Der Spiegel der jeugd', pp. 93–100.

95 Johannes Quintius, *Bodegraven en Swammerdam in brandt* (Amsterdam: Jacob Benjamin, 1673).

Abel against Cain'.[96] Quintius thanked God for the house of Orange. William I, he explained, 'has not only laid the first stone of this state, but also provided it with battlements; and [he] has also left two sons to protect it'.[97] Another author, Adam Verduyn, ended his more factual and graphic account of the French aggressions with a reference to the war against Spain:

> I have often heard my parents talk about the Spanish cruelties committed in Zutphen and Naarden at the beginning of the troubles, but this French fire, murder and rape outweighs all the cruelties of the Spanish: and the Spanish king appeared to have a right to these lands because he was our natural prince, although abjured due to the Spanish tendency towards tyranny. But this French king has no right whatsoever to our free United Netherlands, so that it is only from a desire for status and domination that he is seeking to damage us.[98]

As we can see from the example above, the French invasion in 1672 not only revived popular interest in stories about Spanish cruelties during the Eighty Years' War, but the Revolt also served as material for comparison, enabling authors to argue that the French aggressions exceeded those of the Spaniards. Something similar may be observed in Leiden. In 1674, it was exactly one hundred years earlier that William of Orange and his Beggar army had liberated this city. On this occasion, lawyer and city councilor Karel Crucius addressed local magistrates and other notables in the main auditorium of the university

96 Ibid., f. a2v: 'wonderlijck en wonderbaarlijck heeft de rechtveerdigheyt Godts huys gehouden ontrent Nero, Caligula, Maxentius, Valerianus, Julianus, &c. en insonderheyt ontrent Philippus de tweede, Koningh van Spanjen, tegen welck het bloet van Nederlant riep als het bloet van Abel tegen Cain'; see also: Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 25–27.

97 Ibid., f. a3r: 'heeft niet alleen den eersten Steen van desen Staet geleyt, maer dit swaerlijvig gebouw ter Tinne toe opgetogen; en heeft oock twee Soonen achter gelaten om het selve the decken'.

98 Adam Thomasz Verduyn, *Oprecht historisch verhael, van't geen voorgevallen is in Bodegraven en Swammerdam, door't invallen en doorbreken der Fransen* (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz, 1673), p. 10: 'Ick heb mijn ouders dickwils hooren verhaalen, van de Spaense wreedtheden bedreven in 't begin van de troublen tot Zutphen en Naerden, maer dese Franse Brandt, Moordt en Vrouwen-kracht, overweight alle de wreetheden der Spanjaerden: en den Spaensen Koningh die scheen noch eenigh recht op dese Landen te hebben, want hy was onsen natuerlicken Prins, alleen vervallen zijnde, door den Spaensen hooghmoedt tot Tyrannye; maer desen Fransen Koninck heft geen schijn van recht, op onse vrye Vereenighde Nederlanden, soo dat hy uyt enckele Staet en Heersucht ons dit lijden aen doet'.

to commemorate the past and celebrate the first centenary of this great episode in the history of the city and of what he called 'an eighty years' war'.[99] In the preface of the published edition of the speech, Crucius used the rhetorical device of contrast, remarking that

> from what small and negligible beginnings our fatherland in the first Spanish wars has become great, and after what sudden change it has become small in the last surprise attack, testimony can be found on the first in abundance in our histories and for the second in the wretched experiences of this time.[100]

In his actual speech he noted that

> there has never been anything, esteemed gentlemen and fellow citizens, leafing through the worldly commemorative books, that raises more serious thoughts and wonder in me, than the puzzling rise of this Republic. For who does not tremble each time he commemorates the histories, that have occurred since the year fifteen hundred two-and-seventy in this small corner of the earth?[101]

As a result of these comparisons between the Revolt and the French hostilities, the year 1672 became one of the most important new episodes in the canonic national history of the Dutch Republic. In 1675 a Northern pamphleteer looked back on the French invasion of 1672 and, condemning the French drive for expansion, wrote that

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99 Karel Crucius, 'Oratie van de gedurige voorsienigheit Godts, over ons vaderlandt', in: Adrianus Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving van de vermaerde belegering en 't ontzet der stad Leiden* (Leiden: Weduwe Abraham Honkoop, 177x), p. 197; 'Mr. Karel Crucius', in: A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van soodanige persoonen, die sich op eenigerlei wijze in ons Vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt* III (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1858), p. 893.

100 Crucius, 'Oratie', f. *6r: 'Uit wat klene en onge-agte beginselen ons Vaderland in de eerste Spaense oorlogen groot, en na wat haestigen omkeer het in dese laetste overrompeling kleen geworden is, 't eerste getuigen ons overvloedig de geheug-schriften des vorigen, het twede de jammerlijke ondervindingen deses tijts.'

101 Ibid., p. 179: 'Niet wasser ooit, Geagte Heren en Medeburgers, dat mij, de wereltsche gedenk-boecken doorbladerende, in soo ernstige gedagten en verwonderinge kost doen opklimmen, als de onbegrijpelijke opkomst van dese Republijck. Want, wie isser, die soo dickwils als hy gedenckt aen de geschiedenissen, die tsedert den Jare vijftienhondert twee-en-tseventig in dit kleine hoeckje van de aerde zijn voorgevallen, niet en schrickt?'

> the Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire are in a more ruined state these last years than they have been since the time of Charles V [...] As long as the border posts of France extend beyond Oudenaarde, Maastricht, Limburg and Breisach, people should not expect from France a durable and persistent alliance.[102]

Here, the author strove for a maximum rhetorical effect: even the previous war against Spain had not been as devastating as the French invasion.

This study focuses on political texts but other sources, too, confirm that remediation of the Revolt enabled authors and artists to frame for a Dutch audience the French threats. In 1685, playwright Thomas Asselijn published his play *The Death of the Counts Egmont and Horne* [*De dood van de Graaven Egmond en Hoorne*], which premiered at the theater of Amsterdam in December of that year.[103] This sad episode, Asselijn writes in the dedication to a Utrecht delegate in the Admiralty, Joan van Marcelus, 'was noted most accurately by all Netherlandish history-writers [...] and held for the foundation of the common freedom of the united Netherlands, and the beginning of that bloody and eighty years' war'.[104] Asselijn used the *Ecclesiastical History* of the Jesuit Cornelius Hazart as his principal source. His use of a Catholic historian could be perhaps be explained by the idea that when even a historian of the enemy camp disapproved of Alba's execution of Egmont and Horne, it must by all standards be considered a wicked crime. H. Duits has furthermore argued that the tragedy was meant as a political statement in the context of Louis XIV's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In the play, the duke of Alba personifies absolutism while the counts of Egmont and Horne symbolise the struggle

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102 Anonymous, *Hannibal noch in onse landen ofte consideratien over d'onmogelijckheyt des vredes, omme in dese tegenwoordige constitutie van tyden een vaste en bestendige vrede met den Koning van Vranckrijck te bekomen* (Cologne: s.n., 1675), Knuttel 11308, pp. 6, 8: 'de Nederlanden [sijn] met het Roomse Rijck meer geruineert [...] in dese weynigh Jaren / als-se oyt hebben geweest van den tijdt af van Carolus Quintus [...] Soo lang als de Grenspalen van Vranckrijck sigh uytbreyden tot over Oudenaerde / Maestricht / Limborg ende Brisack / soo moet men van Vranckrijck geen bestandige ende volherdende Alliantie verwachten.'

103 Marijke Meijer Drees, *De treurspelen van Thomas Asselijn* (*ca. 1620–1701*) (Enschede: FEBODRUK, 1989), pp. 53–63; see also Pollmann and Stensland, 'Alba's Reputation', p. 310.

104 Thomas Asselijn, *De dood van de Graaven Egmond en Hoorne. Treurspel. Versierd met Vertooningen* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescailje, 1685), f. a3v: 'werd by alle neederlandsche historischryvers op het naaukeurigst aangemerkt [...] en by de zelven gehouden voor de grondlegging der algemeene vryheid der vereenigde Nederlanden'.

for freedom of conscience.[105] A contemporary audience in 1685 would most likely have recognised a parallel between Louis XIV and the duke of Alba's religious policies.[106]

The remediation of the Revolt served a clear purpose during the last decades of the seventeenth century. Political propagandists, clergymen and government officials connected the Revolt to the war with France to justify the Dutch war effort. In their sermons and in the dedications they wrote in published editions of their sermons, Reformed ministers based their remarks not only on the Bible; they used the history of the state to interpret the situation and in doing so conveniently appealed to the lively public memory culture about the Revolt. After the Republic's victory against Louis XIV at Namur in 1695, for instance, Utrecht clergymen Theodorus van Toll answered the States General's call for a day of thanksgiving and gave a sermon in which he praised William III for his successes against the French.[107] William had become stadholder of most Dutch provinces in 1672 and during the Glorious Revolution of 1688–89 overthrew his uncle James II. The prince and his wife Mary II became joint monarchs of England, Scotland and Ireland. In that capacity, William III was a European champion of Protestantism and a bulwark against the French.[108] Supporters of William III drew parallels between the Revolt and the Glorious Revolution to argue that by protecting the freedom of conscience the prince had stepped in his great-grandfather William of Orange's footsteps.[109]

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105 H. Duits, '"Gerechtigheid is lang ten zeetel uit gerukt". Thomas Asselijns treurspel De dood van de graaven Egmond en Hoorne als reactie op de herroeping van het Edict van Nantes in 1685', *Voortgang* 15 (1995), pp. 123–148.

106 For a similar parallel, see: anonymous, *De staat der strydende-kercke, onder de vergelykinge der zelve by een schip op de zee* (s.l.: s.n., 1688), pp. 14–17.

107 Theodorus van Toll, *Neerlands dankaltaar met het opschrivt De Heere is mijn baniere, ofte Dankpredikaatsie* [...] *op de overwinninge van* [...] *Namen* (Utrecht: Anthony Schoute, 1695), pp. 7–8.

108 This is also how William III publically presented himself, notably in his *The declaration of his highnes William Henry* [...] *prince of Orange, & c. of the reasons inducing him, to appear in armes in the kingdome of England, for preserving of the protestant religion* (The Hague: Arnold Leers, 1688); see also his speech to the States of Holland on 26 October 1688: *Redenen van afscheyt van sijn hoogheyt den heere prince van Orange, gedaen ter vergaderinge van de* [...] *Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt. Op dingsdagh den 26. october 1688* (The Hague: Meyndert Uytwerff, 1688).

109 Anonymous, *Engelsche bokkum, of Heekkel-dicht. Behelzende: de listige vonden, de welkke de jesuïten* [...] *in't werk gesteld hebben; om de waare hervormde godsdienst door gantsch Europa uyt te roeyen* (London: James Warner, 1688), p. 13; [Johannes Quintius], *Een woort op zyn tyt. Zynde een samenspraak over zaken van gewigt* (Amsterdam: Iacobus Robyn,

Indeed, with references to the house of Orange as an instrument in the hands of the Lord, clergymen such as Van Toll complemented the story of God's protection of the Republic. Van Toll mentioned the 'illustrious forefathers of our royal hereditary stadholder [i.e. William III]' who had defended the land against the Spanish and enjoyed the support of God.[110] Similarly, comparing Netherlanders and their successful resistance against Louis XIV in 1672 to the people of Israel, Van Toll considered 'the redemption in the year seventy-two as a result of God's omnipotence and love for us'.[111] He asked at the end of his oration:

> whose manly heart would not cringe in his bosom by only commemorating what cries, moans and complaints were heard on our streets when our cities were burned by fire, our sons and daughters killed by the sword, our young children crushed, and our pregnant women cut open?[112]

This enumeration of cruelties could have referred just as well to the sacks of cities such as Naarden (1572) and Oudewater (1575).

The similarities between reports about French brutalities and historical narratives about the Revolt were clearly intentional, as the following example further demonstrates. After the Battle of Blenheim on 13 August 1704, which was won by the Grand Alliance against France, Amsterdam minister Johannes Brandt gave a sermon on a day of thanksgiving held especially for this victory.[113] He exhorted his audience to apply biblical examples to the Dutch situation. God,

> placing the light of the Gospel in the midst of this land and calling us to the confession of the purified faith: having crossed a red sea of an eighty years' long bloody war, we have been recognised by the Spanish monarch

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[1689]), pp. 17–26, 47–50; anonymous, *De Goddelyke bestieringe overde machten der aarde* (Amsterdam: Jan Blom, 1689), pp. 8, 13, 20, 23, 32, 34.

110 Ibid., p. 23: 'de Doorluchtige Voorvaderen van onse Koninglijke Erffstadhouder'.

111 Ibid., p. 23: 'de Verlossinge in den Jaare twee-en-seventig, als een uitwerksel van Gods Almagt en Liefde t'onswaarts'.

112 Ibid., p. 24: 'Wiens Manmoedig hert sou sig niet in sijnen boesem verkrimpen, slegts te Gedenken, wat een geween, gehuyl en naar geklag op onse straaten gehoord is, wanneer onse vaste Steden met vuur verbrand zijn, onse Soonen en Dochteren met den sweerde gedood, onse jonge Kinderen verplettert, en onse swangere Vrouwen opgesneden?'.

113 Johannes Brandt, *Dank- en biddagpredikaatsie, ter gelegentheit van de heerlijke overwinning* [...] *by de hooge bontgenoten aan den Donau behaalt, den XIII. augustus MDCCIV* (The Hague: Pieter Visser, 1704).

> as a free people, and then liberated from the miseries that can be found in the Dutch histories.[114]

Although Brandt referred people to the history books, he elaborated on some of the best-known episodes of the Revolt. He wrote that 'it was pitiful to see these provinces, about one and a half century ago, when people invented the wicked Inquisition'.[115] It was also 'sad to see, when the placards of Philip were proclaimed from the city hall, and that these laws turned the cities into graveyards'. Brandt took some time to describe the cruelties. The 'trees were full of bodies, and the arms of the executioners wore themselves out by the killing of the miserable: when people heard Alba, Netherland's scourge, boast to the count of Koningstein that he had his executioners kill 18,000 people'.[116] Similarly, Amsterdam clergyman Johannes d'Outrein gave a special sermon during the military campaign of 1708 in which the Eighty Years' War featured prominently alongside the war against France.[117] He drew his audience's attention to the tribulations that the Dutch people had experienced in the past. The first trial was 'the eighty years' war against Spain; from which God has nonetheless saved and spared us by a Twelve Years' Truce or ceasefire, now just a hundred years ago, in 1609, after which we were declared a free people, by the eternal Peace 1648, and thus led towards complete freedom'.[118]

The clergymen discussed here complied with the States General's calls for thanksgiving. But Donald Haks has shown that this government assembly itself also actively marshalled support for the expensive wars against France.[119]

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114 Ibid., pp. 18–19: 'den kandelaar van 't Evangeli in 't midden van dit lant stellende en ons roepende tot de belijdenis van 't gezuivert Kruisgeloof: door een roode zee van een tachentig jaarigen bloedigen oorlog getrokken / zijn we van Spanjes Monarch voor een vry volk erkent / en toen verlost uit ellenden / die / in de Nederlantsche Historien te vinden'.

115 Ibid., p. 19: 'T zag 'er hier in deeze gewesten deerlijk uit / ontrent anderhalve eeuwe geleden toen men die heillooze Inquisitie uitvond'.

116 Ibid.: 'Tzag er deerlijk uit / toen men de bloedige Plakkaten van Philips / ter puye af las / en naar der zelver regelen de steden tot Kerkhoven maakte / de boomen riste door de lijken / en de armen der beulen zich afsloofden / door't vermoorden der ellendigen: Toen men Alba / Neerlands geessel / hoorde roemen tegen den Graaf van Koningstein / dat hy 18000 menschen / door beuls handen / hadt doen sterven'.

117 Johannes d'Outrein, *Nederlands dank-altaar, gesticht* (*ter* [. . .] *gedachtenisse van de zegenryke overwinningen, bevochten* [. . .] *gedurende de gantsche veldtocht des jaars* MDCCVIII.) [. . .]. *Uit psalm* LXVI: *8–20* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Borstius, 1709).

118 Ibid., p. 47: 'In den tachtigjarigen Oorlog met Spanjen; waar uit God ons egter gereddet ende uitgeleid heeft door het Twaalfjarig Bestand of Wapenschorssing / nu net hondert jaren geleden / 1609. waar op gevolgd is dat wy voor een vry volk verklaart zyn / door den eeuwigen Vrede 1648. En aldus in een volkomene vryheyd geleid zyn'.

119 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 65–66.

The States General did so by sending open letters to local governments and to the population in general. The Revolt against the Habsburg overlord came in handy as a historical example because it could convince people that liberty and Protestantism were at stake and motivate them to endurance. In one of their proclamations, published in 1702, they justified their declaration of war on France and Spain, and argued that France threatened the Republic's

> freedom and religion, for which values the subjects and inhabitants of the state have suffered under such terrible persecutions, and [...] for which they fought a war of eighty years against the powerful king of Spain.[120]

This section has argued that just like in the Southern Netherlands, in the Republic the public memory of the Revolt remained relevant not just because people liked the story or because they were aware of the passage of time. Rather, narratives about the Revolt remained useful because they premediated accounts of contemporary politics, notably the French invasion in 1672 and the subsequent French Wars. Political pamphleteers, clergymen and government officials frequently used the widely popular and recognised story about the Revolt to strengthen their argument that support for the Dutch war effort was vital to the survival of the Republic.

Conclusion

When the antiquarian and merchant Jacob Marcus in 1735 compiled the sentences and summons of the duke of Alba in the sixteenth century, he remarked 'that most writers of these histories [about the Revolt] deal with the persecutions in general terms, without appending real documents as evidence', and he thought this practice could be explained by the fact that 'many matters that occurred in the times of those troubles were still in fresh memory and known by many at the time that they wrote [about it]'.[121] Marcus hence implied that

120 *Manifest, houdende de redenen waerom de* [...] *Staten Generael* [...] *genoodtsaeckt zijn tegens* [...] *Vranckryck en Spaigne den oorlogh te declareren, in dato den achtsten mey, 1702* (The Hague: Paulus Scheltus, 1702), p. 4: 'vryheydt ende Religie, voor welcke diere Panden de Onderdanen ende Ingezetenen van den Staet voor dese so schrickelijcke vervolgingen hebben moeten lijden, [...] ende tachtigh jaren aen den anderen jegens die machtige Koningen van Spaignie den Oorlogh gevoert'.

121 Jacob Marcus, ed., *Sententien en indagingen van den hertog van Alba, uitgesproken en geslagen in zynen bloedtraedt* (Amsterdam: Hendrik Vieroot, 1735), pp. vii–viii.

by the time he compiled his work, the Revolt was no longer 'fresh' in the public memory. There is probably some truth in this remark. By the end of the seventeenth century, and later, it became more difficult to find new uses for the past. The two dominant narrative frames that had developed since the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries had matured, and their political usage no longer seems to reveal the same kind of lively dynamic that we have seen in the first three quarters of the century.

This does not mean that people had forgotten about the Revolt or that other historical frames of reference had replaced the earlier rebellion against the Habsburg overlord. The celebration of centenaries, both of secular events and of local miracles, shows that the Revolt played an important role in the way people in the Habsburg Netherlands determined what qualities defined a true Netherlander: loyalty to the dynasty and Catholicism. But it also reveals that the two were inextricably linked. As we have been able to see for the Southern Netherlands, more than ever before, the Revolt had become an integral part of South Netherlandish history.

In the Dutch Republic, we have seen how a new war could turn the fierce contestation of the past in 1650–72 into a relatively consensual approach to the canon. In many ways, we are back where we began. The canon had once more become a fairly uncontested narrative about the Revolt that could be used to arouse the public against a foreign enemy. The examination of the political usage of references to the Revolt in new political contexts, then, has once more demonstrated the dynamic character of memory practices.

Conclusion

Chris Lorenz, a scholar of national historiography in modern Europe, has argued that 'national histories in Europe can be typified with the help of eight ideal-typical characteristics [...] most outspoken in their nineteenth-century versions, but usually [persisting] well into the twentieth century'. These characteristics are: 1) National histories claim a 'unique national identity' for their nation—such as being a Catholic nation, a freedom-loving nation, a tolerant nation etc.; 2) this unique identity is shaped by antagonising other nations as well as minority groups within the nation; 3) therefore, war and conflict play an important role in furnishing the 'dominant storylines' of national history; 4) within a nation, a national history focuses on the common origins of the population and its shared past; 5) a related factor is the emphasis on continuity through time: the nation has always been there and will always be there, a notion requiring manipulation of the past; 6) nationalist historians often personify nations, a practice implying gendering and hero worship; 7) national histories tend to stress feelings of national unity despite the existence of internal differences; 8) finally, national histories suggest that justice is on the nation's side, for instance by stressing providential support or moral superiority.[1]

Interestingly, many of the characteristics that Lorenz considers to be typically modern also existed in the early modern Low Countries. This study has shown that the early modern-vs-modern dichotomy Lorenz and other modernist scholars try to prove fails to convince, especially when studying cultural memory practices in the Low Countries. The following table shows that all of Lorenz's characteristics of national history can be found in the Dutch Republic and even in a very multimedial form. Fewer of these characteristics seem to apply to the Habsburg Netherlands but, still, there too many elements Lorenz considers distinctive for post-1800 national history can be observed.

These examples illustrate that in the seventeenth-century Netherlands local identities coexisted with feelings of Netherlandish identity, and these 'national' feelings were often based on ideas about the Revolt as a communal past.

The observation that seventeenth-century Netherlanders considered the Revolt as their communal past is not quite new. Breen, Romein and Schama have already demonstrated that Dutch people in the seventeenth century attached importance to the history of the Revolt not only in their village, city,

1 Chris Lorenz, 'Unstuck in Time. Or: The Sudden Presence of the Past', in: Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree and Jay Winter, eds., *Performing the Past: Memory, History and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), pp. 78–80.

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TABLE 1 *National memory practices in the early modern low countries*

Lorenz on national history	**Dutch Republic**	**Habsburg Netherlands**
1. Unique national identity	Republic often portrayed as a freedom-loving nation. Example: Rijksmuseum print RP-P-OB-80.751 depicts the seven United Provinces personified by seven virgins kneeling before a lance, which is crowned with a Phrygian cap.	Propagandists claimed that the Southern Netherlands were a uniquely Catholic nation.
2. Antagonism other nations and minority groups	Historical narratives represented the Dutch Republic as the 'Free Netherlands' and the Habsburg provinces as the 'Overlorded Netherlands'.	Pro-Habsburg historians focused on the struggle between good Catholics and evil (foreign) heretics.
3. War and conflict furnish dominant storylines	Public memories of the war against the Habsburg overlord figured prominently in narratives of national history.	People celebrate the Habsburg dynasty as triumphant protector of the true religion and of the local privileges.
4. Focus on common origins	The Batavian Myth. Example: the States General in 1613 bought a series of twelve paintings by Otto van Veen about the Batavian rebellion in the years 69–70 AD, led by Claudius Civilis against the Roman 'oppressors'. The series was hung in the room where the States General held its assemblies.	On a national level this element seems less applicable to the Southern Netherlands compared to the Dutch Republic.
5. Emphasis on continuity	Rebels claimed that a Netherlandish identity had always been there and that they fought only to protect it.	Southern authors stressed the continuity of Catholicism and in doing so placed the Revolt in brackets.

TABLE 1 *National memory practices* (*cont.*)

Lorenz on national history	**Dutch Republic**	**Habsburg Netherlands**
6. Personification of nation	Rebel propagandists used an analogy featuring the mythical figure Andromeda who was saved by the hero Perseus. In Jacob Duym's play *A Nassau Perseus, saviour of Andromeda, or the Netherlandish Virgin* [*Een Nassausche Perseus, verlosser van Andromeda, ofte de Nederlantsche maeght*] (1606), the Netherlands are compared with Andromeda while leader of the Revolt William of Orange is compared with the hero Perseus.	Portrayals of the Netherlands as an allegorical virgin abound. See for instance the cover page of this study. Loyalists also used Andromeda allegories.
7. Feelings of national unity	There were plenty of internal differences in the Dutch Republic. Narratives about the past served to bring all those different people together against a foreign foe or against internal enemies.	Feelings of national unity and devotion to the commonwealth were less lively in the Habsburg Netherlands, except devotion to the dynasty and Catholicism.
8. Divine providence and/or justice is on nation's side	Multiple groups in North Netherlandish society used Israelite analogies to emphasise providential support for the Republic's cause.	The Holy Virgin intervenes in numerous narratives about the South-Netherlandish past, although these interventions often took place locally.

or province but also to the Revolt as a Netherlandish conflict. For the Southern Netherlands, historians have paid less attention to the public memory of the Revolt, although Vermaseren and Scheelings have demonstrated that there, too, elites were keenly interested in the 'national' history of the conflict. These scholars have tended to focus on historiography. Yet, although the frequently cited works of sixteenth-century historians such as Florentius van der Haer and Emanuel van Meteren and their successors were important sources of information for many people, they were not responsible for creating the dominant readings of the past that emerged in the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic. These works stimulated people's historical awareness, but their coverage was too comprehensive and their interpretations too subtle for them to account for the emergence of two highly politicised narratives in the public memory of the Northern and Southern Netherlands.

The popularisation and politicisation of the Revolt occurred later and require an explanation of their own. Writing before the rise of nationalism and memory studies in the 1980s and '90s, Breen, Romein, Schama, Vermaseren and Scheelings did not really consider the dynamic and (with the possible exception of Schama) multimedial character of memory politics. This study has done so by posing three important questions about public memory formation and memory politics that have not been asked before. Firstly, how and why did two radically different canonical narratives about the Revolt emerge in North and South? Secondly, how and why were these canonical narratives deployed for political purposes throughout the seventeenth century? Finally, how did the political usage of references to the Revolt contribute to the formation of two separate Netherlandish identities?

To understand how two radically different public memories of the Revolt emerged in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, I have examined the political usage of the past by government authorities and interest groups. The impetus for this study was the evident existence of a very lively memory culture about the Revolt in the Dutch Republic. The development of this culture was not as self-explanatory as scholars have assumed. Although the past traditionally served to legitimate the present, as I have shown, rebels could not easily reject the authority of their legitimate overlord with historical arguments. The privileges for which they claimed to fight were local privileges. The Joyous Entry, for instance, was strictly speaking valid only in Brabant. To circumvent this problem, the leader of the Revolt, William of Orange, attempted to communicate a reading of events in support of the rebel cause in which the Habsburg regime was targeted as a tyrannical 'Spanish' government. Although the prince tried to develop popular feelings of Netherlandish identity, his propaganda from the 1560s–'80s did not automatically become the

blueprint of the popular historical canon of the Revolt that would develop at a later stage in the Dutch Republic.

The duke of Alba—as the representative of the Habsburg overlord Philip II—used violence, intimidation and destruction to manipulate the public memory of the rebellion, but this approach, too, did not become typical of the dominant historical canon that developed in the Habsburg Netherlands. Only after Alexander Farnese's successful *reconquista* in the 1580s did a fairly coherent narrative about the Revolt appear. Formal agreements to forget the past initially obstructed the emergence of a lively memory culture about the Revolt. Government authorities in the South legislated oblivion after the recapture of formerly rebellious towns, and, generally, the remaining population had little choice but to live under the restored regime and make the best of it. Recalling that they, or their family members, or their neighbours, or their fellow citizens, had been disloyal in the past was not an opportune thing to do. When clerics, religious orders, Habsburg princes, and national, regional and local government authorities appealed to the public memory of the Revolt, they did so for very specific purposes. They successfully used narratives about the Revolt, for instance, to convince the population that loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty was the surest way of restoring peace in the land. Such stories blamed overambitious nobles and evil heretics for the troubles. This message could be conveyed with minimal supporting historical evidence.

Where the post-1585 Habsburg authorities in the Southern Netherlands had been very effective in their fight against heretics and rebels, political propagandists in the Dutch Republic made an important innovation of their own. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, opponents of peace, including supporters of the house of Orange, were the first to use the history of the Revolt on a national scale to argue against a (potential) peace or ceasefire with Spain. A comparison of different popular Dutch political and historical texts has shown that time and again the same episodes were used to portray particular themes in the conflict: the nobility's petition of 1566 demonstrated that, initially, the rebels did not seek to rebel; the duke of Alba's governorship showed the malevolence of Spanish rulers and soldiers; and the capture of Brill signalled the first major rebel success. From around 1600, propagandists of the anti-peace lobby revived the propaganda spread by William of Orange, the Beggar Songs and the Hogenberg prints. More than these early publications ever could, early-seventeenth-century propagandists consolidated all the various narratives and created a dominant story-line that remained important throughout the seventeenth century and beyond.

Public memories in both countries differed from one another; considering that the Low Countries had split up into two states that divergence is not

so strange. The comparative perspective, however, has enabled us to see that North and South did not produce mere mirror images of the past. Whereas South Netherlandish authors saw Protestantism as the key problem and in general preferred religious over secular readings of the rebellion, their North Netherlandish colleagues did not develop a similar attitude towards Catholicism. Many rebel authors condemned what they saw as papal superstitions, but they did not consider the Catholic religion as such to have been the most important problem, nor did they primarily support their arguments using Scripture and Reformed doctrines, except of course when they sought to appeal only to their own religious group. Although the political separation of the Low Countries caused the drifting apart of public memories, this process did not simply result in two variants of the same story. The explanation for this result lies in the national political context, which in both North and South influenced memory practices. In the Northern Netherlands, the federal and decentralised nature of the polity required propagandists to invoke a wide variety of events that could appeal to Netherlanders from different cities and regions. Furthermore, the lack of religious unity rendered religious readings of the past less useful in national discussions about politics. This popularity of secular history thus did not forbode the advent of modernity, it was rather a sign of weakness: in the Republic traditional practices of memory were not always usable. In the South, on the other hand, church and dynasty played a central role in the emergence of a 'national' narrative about the past rebellion despite the fact that there, too, the provinces enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. The painful fact that the most important Southern cities had rebelled against their overlord, however, meant that the chronology of narratives about the Revolt could not be very elaborate, lest too much needed to be explained away. Oblivion, then, characterised the church and state's approach to the Revolt.

In the North, quite a number of general histories appeared from 1600, in which authors had as their chief aim to narrate what had happened during the rebellion. In doing so, even in the popularised versions, they created a rich chronology of events that they felt their audience ought to be acquainted with. In the South, fewer such histories appeared in print. For information about the Revolt, Southerners had to turn to martyrs tales, miracle books, church histories and handwritten chronicles. Traditional urban ceremonial, too, played a prominent role in communicating public memory in the South. These references to the Revolt relied less on a well-defined chronology of events. The simplified chronological narratives that did emerge in the South from the 1610s onwards were primarily reactions to texts published by Northern anti-peace propagandists. Although the political context in the South usually prevented authors from publishing secular histories about the Revolt, contacts between

North and South during the Twelve Years' Truce, as well as the ideal of reunification, inspired them to do so nonetheless.

The political use of the Revolt by stakeholders ensured the continued circulation of references to the conflict. Both in the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands, princely dynasties played a central role in the public memory formation about the Revolt. While dynasties liked to portray themselves as permanent and unchanging, scions of the houses of Habsburg and Orange, and their supporters, used the discontinuity of the Revolt for their own political purposes. The Habsburgs used the Revolt to demonstrate that they were the best defenders of Catholicism and of local privileges. Throughout the seventeenth century, when time and again the Spanish got embroiled in wars with France, supporters of the dynasty used the Revolt to prove that unlike the kings of France the Habsburgs had never hesitated to prefer religion over reason of state. The house of Orange justified its privileged position as stadholderly dynasty with references to its manifold contributions to the war against Philip II and his Habsburg successors, while claiming their entitlement to public gratitude.

The use of references to the Revolt as a Netherlandish story did not reflect natural feelings of unity but rather served to camouflage disunity and bring together people who would otherwise remain divided. Once canonical narratives had been developed in the Northern and Southern Netherlands at the beginning of the seventeenth century, their widespread popularity made them useful as frames of reference and as rhetorical weapons in domestic politics. We have seen the dynamic interplay between the Revolt as a rich frame of reference for propagandists, on the one hand, and the imperative need to position oneself against these canonical narratives, on the other. When one group began to appropriate the public memory of the Revolt and to use it in support of a political agenda, opposition groups seem to have felt compelled to do the same even if, initially, they had been reluctant to refer to the Revolt at all. Apparently, both in North and South the 'right' interpretation of the Revolt had acquired such a sacrosanct status that 'wrong' interpretations could not be left uncontested. To illustrate this development, already in the 1610s references to the Revolt in the Republic were used not only to discuss the war but also to fight out a disagreement about the right interpretation of the doctrine of double predestination within the Dutch Reformed public church. Canonical narratives were thus continuously contested, but their canonical status increased every time they became the object of political discussion.[2] A similar thing

2 See also: Alexandr Osipian, 'The Usable Past in the Lemberg Armenian Community's Struggle for Equal Rights, 1578–1654', in: Kuijpers et al., eds., *Memory before Modernity: Practices of*

happened in the Southern Netherlands in the 1630s. When a group of nobles led by Henry van den Bergh conspired against the Habsburg regime, discussions about contemporary Habsburg government in the South featured numerous references to the early, sixteenth-century, stages of the Revolt. The regime felt forced to retaliate by breaking its own policies of oblivion and by spreading its own Habsburg reading of events.

This brings us to the third question: how did the political usage of public memory contribute to identity formation in the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands? Especially in the Republic but also in the South the continued political relevance and contestation of memories of the rebellion made it an important part of an overarching sense of national identity, which served as a source of inspiration in the 'present'. In the Republic we see for instance that the narrative frame could simply be reused in the struggle against France. The idea was that it motivated people to do as their forefathers had done: to fight for the freedom of the Netherlands. In the Habsburg Netherlands, French threats combined with the absenteeism of the Habsburg rulers made people look back to the period before the Revolt, especially to the reign of Charles V, as a time of ideal Habsburg government. The Revolt itself also served to bolster a South Netherlandish identity. The triumphs of 1585 underlined why loyalty to Habsburg ultimately paid off. Successive Habsburg overlords had protected the true faith and guaranteed local privileges.

The long-term perspective has been very helpful in establishing the importance of the Revolt for feelings of Netherlandish identity in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. We have seen that even after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the rebellion remained important in public memory. It may be possible to develop this point a bit further. This study has concentrated on the period 1566–1700 but not because the established canonical narratives about the Revolt ceased to carry political relevance after the turn of the century. In the Southern Netherlands, historians, artists, and political propagandists continued to portray the time before the Revolt as a blissful period of peace and prosperity that had been ended abruptly by insurrections and heresy. This portrayal was by itself a political statement. The Habsburg overlord became a rallying point, as protector of the Netherlanders and their privileges against the aggressive foreign policy of Louis XIV. By reminding people of the harmony between the population and their Habsburg rulers, authors could show that this state

Memory in Early Modern Europe (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 27–43; Ulrich Niggemann, 'You will see who they are that Revile, and Lessen Your … Glorious Deliverance'. The 'Memory War' about the 'Glorious Revolution', in: Kuijpers et al., eds., *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 63–75.

of affairs could be attained only by remaining loyal to the 'natural' overlord. In 1702, Ghent organised the Joyous Entry for the new count of Flanders, Philip V of Spain, which can illustrate how the old idea of the Habsburg dynasty as the best protector of South Netherlandish privileges could be applied to the new Bourbon overlord Philip V. The author of a commemorative booklet observed that Philip V's oath at St Peter's Abbey was identical to the one pledged by Louis I, count of Flanders in 1332.[3] In it, Louis had promised 'that he and his successor counts and countesses of Flanders would maintain and safeguard the rights, privileges, preeminences and freedom of the abbey, the convent and the clerics, appendices and dependencies'.[4] In its choice of a reference with such historical depth, the organisers wanted to show their overlord that respect for the abbey's privileges would be in line with tradition. Further on in the proceedings, Philip V's representative went to the St Bavo Church where, before the church, a triumphal arch was erected identical to the one put up on the occasion of the Joyous Entry of Philip II in 1549, a time when the country had not yet been touched by a nation-wide rebellion.[5]

I have shown that these historical emphases on the perceived glorious period before the Revolt did not mean that the Revolt had disappeared from the public memory in the South. This can be illustrated by a jubilee of the 1585 reconciliation of Brussels celebrated on 17 July 1735 in Brussels.[6] This jubilee beautifully exemplifies how the Catholic memory of the Southern Netherlands encapsulated and neutralised memories of the Revolt. The author of a commemorative booklet connected the history of the Holy Sacrament of Miracle explicitly to the Revolt:

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3 Anonymous, *Beschryvinghe van de inauguratie solemniteyten ende ceremonien waer mede syn excellentie Don Ysidro de la Cueba ende Benavides Marckgrave van Bedmar & c. Commandant Generael van dese Nederlanden & c. Uyt den naem van Syne Coninclijcke Majesteyt Philippus den Vyfden, Coninck van alle de Rycken van Spaignien, de Indien & c. Heeft ghedaen ende ontfanghen den ghewoonelijcken eedt vande Provintie van Vlaenderen* (Ghent: Maximiliaen Graet, 1702).

4 Ibid., p. 5: 'dat hy ende sijne Naervolgers Graven ende Gravinnen van Vlaenderen particulierelijck souden onderhouden ende bewaeren de Rechten, Privilegien, Preëminentien ende Vrydom vande voorseyde Abdye, Convent ende Religieusen, Appendentien ende Dependentien'.

5 Ibid., pp. 6–7.

6 Anonymous, *Brusselsche eer-triomphe over het hondert-vyftigh-iaerigh jubile van 't alderheylighste sacrament van mirakel met eene korte beschryvinge van de beldt-stormerye begaen door de Geusen in Neder-landt, en principael binnen de Stadt Brussel, Mechelen, Antwerpen, & c.* (Brussels: Iacob vande Velde, 1735).

> The triumphant hundred and fifty year jubilee, which our princely city of Brussels celebrates with such splendour and no less joy in memory of the venerable and most holy Sacrament of Miracle in the year 1370 so disgracefully abused by evil Jews and hidden in the year 1579 due to the iconoclasts, church robbers, and Calvinist Beggars (who came from surrounding lands into these Netherlands) [...] until the year 1585, when by a magnificent procession, and to general happiness, it has been removed [from its hiding place] by the devout Catholic inhabitants and his eminence the archbishop of Mechelen and, among a great number of people, carried to its old resting place.[7]

We see here that the Revolt was absorbed into a grand narrative of Catholicism under threat, with its own chronology of events. In 1370, the miracle occurred, in 1579 Brussels became a Calvinist Republic and the sacred Hosts needed to be brought to safety, in 1585 Catholicism was restored with great joy, and in 1735 the South was still a Catholic nation ruled by the house of Habsburg.

A similar kind of dynamic operated in the North. There, too, the Revolt became part of a more comprehensive national canon that also included the French invasion of 1672. After the Peace of Utrecht of 1713 finally ended the war with France, in 1717 and on the initiative of the States of Overijssel, the States General of the Republic organised a Great Assembly. As with the Great Assembly of 1651, disagreements about the military budget and the relationship between provincial autonomy and federal decision-making figured high on the agenda. Burdened by massive debt, Friesland, Zeeland and Utrecht had decided unilaterally to cut expenditures on the troops while Gelderland, Overijssel and Holland, although also burdened by debt, continued paying the troops allocated to them.[8] The assembly was meant to solve this problem. Although it did not succeed, the deliberations show that the national past played an important role in the proceedings. The history of the Revolt and the

7 Ibid., pp. 5–6: 'Het Triomphant Hondert-vyftigh-Iaerigh Jubilé, 't welck met soo groote pracht, ende gene mindere vreughden viert onse Princelijcke Stadt Brussel tot Gedachtenisse dat't Hoogh-weirdighste en Alderheylighste Sacrament van Mirakel in 't Iaer 1370 van de boose Ioden soo schandelijck is mishandelt geweest, ende in 't Iaer 1579 om de Beldt-stormers ende Kerck-roovers, om de Calvinische Geusen (die van andere omliggende landen in dese Nederlanden gekomen waeren) verborgen is geweest [...] tot in 't Iaer 1585, als wanneer 't met eene Magnifiecke Processie, ende eene algemeyne blydtschap van alle Devote Catholijcke Inwoonders door Syne Hooghweirdigheyt den Arts-Bisschop van Mechelen is uytgehaelt, en onder den toeloop van eene ontelbaere menichte van menschen gedraegen naer syne oude Rust-plaetse'.

8 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 986.

history of the French wars merged into a grand narrative of opposition against a foreign foe.[9] Donald Haks has made a similar observation, and he refers to the opening speech of the assembly held by Count Adolf Hendrik van Rechteren-Almelo, delegate of Overijssel, to illustrate this point.[10] Van Rechteren urged his delegates to think of the protection of the fatherland, drawing attention to the fact that 'just as the ancestors had no scruples about risking goods and blood in order to gain dear freedom for her and her descendants, [now] the States of Overijssel too will make no scruples about sacrificing her last penny and drop of blood'.[11] Gelderland, too, deployed references to the past in their opposition to cuts in military expenditures. They wanted all the provinces to do what was necessary for the defence of the state 'just as our forefathers who had helped shape the Republic with their goods and blood'.[12]

The cultural memory approach of this study has enabled me to demonstrate the wide circulation of references to the Revolt. Not only learned histories but also less intellectual media such as prints, popular historiography, and political pamphlets influenced seventeenth-century narratives about the Revolt. People could access information about the conflict in a variety of ways.[13] This practice continued to flourish in the eighteenth century and included more playful ways of engagement with the past. A patriotic version of the game of the goose from the first half of the eighteenth century further demonstrates that Netherlanders did not need to read learned histories to become familiar with the historical canon of the Revolt. The game consisted of a few dozens of squares, each of which was illustrated with canonical episodes of Dutch history.[14] The Revolt was well covered but placed in the wider national history of the Republic. Episodes such as the Inquisition, the duke of Alba's governorship, the Sea Beggars at Brill, the relief of Leiden and the Pacification of Ghent were all part of the game. Not only did it include a selection of noteworthy events; it also provided an interpretation of these episodes. If, for example,

9 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 287–291.

10 Ibid., pp. 289–290.

11 Minuten van resoluties van de tweede Grote Vergadering, 1716–1717, NA 1.01.02, inv. 4813, (28 November 1716): 'gelijk de voorouders geen swarigheijt gemaakt hebben om door haar goed en bloet […] de dierbare vrijheijdt voor haer en hare nakomelingen na lichaem en na ziele te verkrijgen; dat also ook de Heeren Staten van Overijssel geen swarigheijt zullen maken om haar laatste stuijver en druppel bloeds op te offeren'.

12 Ibid., (30 November 1716): 'in gelijkheid van Onse voor-ouderen die de Republicq met goet en bloet hebben helpen formeren'.

13 For material culture and the Revolt, see Eekhout, 'Material Memories'.

14 P.J. Buijnsters and Leontine Buijnsters-Smet, eds., *Papertoys: Speelprenten en papieren speelgoed in Nederland (1640–1920)* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2005), p. 146.

a player arrived on the square depicting the Inquisition he would lose three tokens. But if he stood on the rebel capture of Breda in 1590, he would win a token. The instructions for the game, published in 1751, explain that it was made by a 'learned lady, having very close connections to an illustrious family in our Republic'. Originally to be used in the creator's family circle only, according to these instructions, the game proved to be such a success that it was published and made available to a wider audience.[15] With this game children and their parents could celebrate the Dutch past in a playful atmosphere.[16]

The canonical narrative about the Revolt was relevant not only for elite groups in society. It is difficult to be very precise when it comes to the popularity of war memories because the available evidence is often produced by elites. Yet, this study has shown that these elites—including magistrates, clerics, historians, schoolmasters and so forth—did try to appeal to wider sections of the population. The general assumption that some historical events were common knowledge and needed no further explanation demonstrates that elite references to the Revolt probably reflected more popular ways of engagement with the past. It should come as no surprise, for instance, that the duke of Alba continued to occupy a central role in the public memory of many inhabitants throughout the Republic. Writer Justus van Effen in 1731 published in the *Holland Spectator* [*Hollandsche Spectator*] a memorable reference to Alba after a visit to an Amsterdam workman. During his visit, Van Effen—forty-five years old at the time—wondered at the total lack of good manners shown by the workman's four-year-old daughter, and he pointed out to the father his parental duties. The workman replied that Van Effen was right but that he could not do anything. To Van Effen's question regarding what held him back the man answered: 'In this house live three to four other families, people like me who have to earn their living with their hands. When I feel it is necessary to punish the girl, at once I hear a group of women who call me a tyrant, a brute, a Ducdalf.'[17]

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15 *Verklaringe van het spel, verbeeldende door gedenk-penningen de geheele historie der Vereenigde Neederlanden, en in het korte al het geen aanmerkelijk in dezelve is voorgevallen, sedert . . . 1555 . . . tot op . . . 1713* (The Hague: Mattheus Gaillard, 1751), pp. iii–vi.

16 Buijnsters and Buijnsters-Smet, eds., *Papertoys*, pp. 146–147.

17 Justus van Effen, *Hollandsche Spectator* 11 (29 October 1731), edited by P.J. Buijnsters (Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1984), p. 81: 'In dit huis woonen drie à vier andere families, meest luiden die, gelyk ik, de kost met hunne handen moeten winnen. Wanneer ik nodig acht het meisje te straffen, hoor ik aanstonds een party wyven, die my voor een tyran, voor een beul, voor een Ducdalf uitschelden'.

The distinguished nobleman Adolf Hendrik van Rechteren-Almelo, the learned lady who created the game of the goose, and the group of women described by Justus van Effen, all referred to the Revolt and considered its prominent place in the national history of the Republic as a matter of fact. We cannot know exactly what Van Rechteren's audience thought about his references to the past, how players perceived the historical character of the game of the goose, or what the women in Amsterdam were thinking, and what message they tried to convey, when they shouted 'Ducdalf'. Nevertheless, the wide currency of the references, their stubborn consistency, and the sheer wealth of material presented in this study demonstrate that this conflict continued to occupy a central role in the public memory which, as I have shown, should not be attributed primarily to the work of historians but foremost to less scholarly ways of engaging with the past. One of those is the political use of the past and the resulting formation of national identities.

To end with a more general conclusion, political realities in the present are very important for keeping alive public memories of the past. This holds true for the early modern as well as the modern period. In the seventeenth century, the Revolt played a central role in political debates much in the same way that the World Wars still serve as important frames of reference for modern-day politicians and opinion-makers in many European countries. Modern people may disapprove of the opportunistic political motivations underlying popular seventeenth-century manipulations of the past, but up to this very day those constructed images of the past still inform inhabitants of the modern successor states of the old Low Countries in the way they look at their neighbours and in their interpretations of what it means to be Belgian or Dutch. Whereas this process of identity formation has previously been attributed largely to the efforts of nineteenth-century nationalist historians, I would argue that many of the historical images that they eagerly adopted came into being and circulated widely throughout the seventeenth century.

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